CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF EASTERN RAJPUTANA STATES

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To
the memory of
my parents

PREFACE

Eastern Rajputana States comprised the erstwhile States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli These four States more or less formed a homogeneous unit as regards its topography, vegetation, industrial potentiality and administrative set up The customs, festivals and the dialect of the people were more or less akin and represented a unique mixture of Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and the Punjab Further, the proximity of this area to the Imperial capital of Delhi, caused a sort of cultural interaction, which was non existent in other States of Rajputana The historical glory of these erstwhile States was less significant as compared to the Princely States of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur The Jat State of Bharatpur, however, a dominant role during the time of the later Mughals and contributed its own share for the glory of Rajasthan

Eastern Rajputana States suffered a lot under the Maratha and Pindaris atrocities The advent of the British was, therefore, hailed by the Princes as they secured safety and security against internal insurrection and external aggression The impact of British ideas and institutions began to take root after 1857 The Britishers changed the economic structure of Indian society established a centralised system of administration, introduced modern education, modern means of communication and other innumerable institutions All these unleashed new forces in the body politic of India Inside Indian States and more particularly in Eastern Rajputana States the new social forces remained dormant for some time and it was only after the World War I that social awakening and political consciousness began to develop From 1920 onwards there was a constant clash and conflict in Eastern Rajputana States between the traditional order and the new order The traditional order wanted to preserve the monarchical form of government and the feudal structure of society The new order demanded representative institutions civil rights freedom of speech press and expression

This edition is an attempt to assess and evaluate the administrative and constitutional development in Eastern Rajputana States from 1857 to 1947, and to portray the process of the formation of the Matsya Union The Union was a first crack in the citadel of the Princely order of Rajputana and a prelude to the formation of Rajasthan The rulers of these States gave proof of their political sagacity and patriotism

I express my deep sense of gratitude to late Prof S L Audichya, for his effective guidance, Prof L S Rathore, Head of the Department of Political Science University of Jodhpur, for giving prompt assistance and guidance in the conduct of research work late Prof N R Khadgawat, Director, Rajasthan Government Archives, Bikaner for having allowed me to consult various governmental records and Dr H L Upadhyaya Reader, Department of Economics, University of Jodhpur for his timely advice and encouragement I am particularly beholden to my friend R C Arya CIEFL, Hydrabad for the pains he had taken in going through the entire material I should also feel thankful to my wife Dr Vimla, who in spite of her official duties found time to prepare index of the book I also express my sincerest thanks to the authorities of National archives, New Delhi Rajasthan Government Archives, Bikaner Sumer Public Library Jodhpur and the Central Library, University of Jodhpur for their assistance I also express my gratitude to the authorities of the University Grant Commission and the University of Jodhpur for giving financial assistance for its publication I thank Usha Publishing House Jodhpur for bringing out the work in record time

Present work is a revised and enlarged version of the thesis submitted in 1969 The views expressed in the book are entirely personal For the errors of fact or style if any, the responsibility is of the author

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Historical Background

The United State of Matsya came into existence on March 17, 1948 as a result of integration of the four Eastern Rajputana States, namely, Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli The credit for forming a homogeneous administrative unit of the heterogeneous independent political entities with varying levels of economic social, cultural and administrative systems goes to Sardar Patel, the then Minister, States Department, Government of India and the co operation of the Rulers of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli The United State of Matsya, which was a prelude to the formation of Rajasthan was a milestone in the history of integration of the Indian States These States had their own historical traditions, cultural values, social patterns and administrative systems It would, therefore, be worth while to know the historical back ground of these States so as to appreciate the contribution of their respective Rulers to the government at the centre

Alwar

The erstwhile State of Alwar was situated between north latitude 27 3 and 28 13 and east longitude 76 7 and 77 13 [1] It was bounded in the north by the British district of Gurgaon, Kot Kasim pargana of Jaipur and Bawal pargana of Nabha State, in the south by Jaipur State, in the east by Bharatpur and Gurgaon, and in the west by Jaipur Nabha and Patiala The State covered an area of about 3213 square miles[2] and was fairly a quadrilateral in shape, with the extreme length from north to south of about 80 miles and the width of about 60 miles [3]

The ruling princes of Alwar belonged to the Lalawat branch of the Naruka rajputs an offshoot of the Kachwaha rajputs, of whom the Maharaja of Jaipur was the head They

claimed descent from Bar Singh the eldest son of Udai Karan who was the Raja of Ambar in the later half of the fourteenth century His dec endants though possessing estates in Jaipur territory, did not settle at one place for the next three centuries The first to ettle was Raja Kalyan Singh who for services rendered to Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur, received a fief of Macheri in 1671

Pratap Singh Naruka of Macheri the descendant of Kalyan Singh was the founder of Alwar State during the second half of the eighteenth century He inherited the sovereignty of two and a half villages[4] As the chief of Jaipur was minor it afforded him an opportunity for aggrandisement and between 1771 and 1776 he succeeded in establishing an independent authority in the greater part of the territory which later on formed the southern half of the Alwar State His timely aid to Najaf Khan the Imperial Commander of Emperor Shah Alam II and the defeat of the Jats at Barsana and Deeg in Bharatpur State gained him the title of Rao Raja and a Sanad for Macheri from the Crown[5] This defection of Macheri was a serious blow to Jaipur By the time of his death in 1791 he had secured possession of more than seven tehsils

Bakhtawar Singh the adopted son and successor of Pratap Singh established the first relations with the Company s Government by concluding a treaty at Puhersur near Bharatpur on November 14 1803 and thereby accepted the Company s protection[6] As a reward for the services, rendered to Lord Gerard Lake, during the Second Anglo Maratha War, the Naruka Chief was granted the parganas of Ismailpura and Mandawar along with the talookas of Durbarpore Ruatee, Nimrana Mundun Chelote Beejwar Suraie Dadree, Loharu, Boodwanah and Bhoodchalnahur [7] through a Sanad of Novem ber 28 1803 In 1805 an exchange of territories was eff cted between the Company s Government and the State Accor dingly the Raja was required to give one lakh of rupees to the British Government on account of the grant of the fort of

Kishangarh together with its dependencies and the stores contained in the fort and the parganas of Tijara Tapookeeah and Kultoomaun were received in exchange of Dadree, Budwanor and Bhawna Kerjab [8] The boundaries of Alwar, thus recognised by the Government remained fixed from that date

The sparks of the Indian Mutiny also ignited the batteries of Alwar forces William Muir in a letter from Agra to his brother J Muir in Edinburgh on June 2, 1857 wrote that the forces of Alwar and Bharatpur were stationed at Hodal in Gurgaon district with Harvey Commissioner of Agra Division and Captain Nixon of the Bharatpur Residency, to check the mutineers from Delhi But when the mutineers reached Hodal on May 31, 1857 the Alwar troops fraternised with the mutineers and the Bharatpur men did not act against them [9] William Muir in another letter to The Bombay Times wrote that when the Kota contingent revolted on July 3 1857, 'we heard nothing of the Alwar Darbar troops, who promised great things in harassing the mutineers So we were left with our 3rd Europeen, the Company of artillery and the militia'[10] Raja Banni Singh, of course, had despatched a contingent of 800 infantry (mainly Muslims), 400 cavalry (all Rajputs) and four guns to the assistance of the beleagured garrison at Agra, but the muslims deserted, and the force was severely defeated near Achnera by the Neemuch and Nasirabad mutineers [11]

Raja Banni Singh died in August 1857 and was succeeded by his minor son Sheodan Singh The administration during his minority remained under the control of the Council of Regency from 1857 to 1863 The Mohammadan ministers gained ascendency in this period but their influence was obnoxious to the Rajput nobles as The Hindu Patriot of August 26, 1858 reported the 'insurrection in the little State of Alwar There appear to be two parties in the State, the Mohammadans and the Rajputs [12] In this situation a Political Agent was appointed to aid and advise the Council of Regency Sheodan Singh, on attaining majority in September 1863, was invested with full powers of administration but the Political Agent

continued to reside in the State for a further period of two years Sheodan Singh's extravagance and resumption of numerous hereditary holdings led to an uprising of the Rajputs against him, and made the interference of the government necessary In 1870, therefore the Raja was deprived of powers and a Council of Management presided over by a British Officer was formed a sum of rupees fifteen thousand per mensem was fixed for the personal expenditure of Sheodan Singh, and an establishment on a rea onable scale was allotted for his use [13]

Sheodan Singh died in 1874 without any heir, either lineal or adopted The succession was contested by Thakur Mangal Singh of Thana family and Thakur Lakhdir Singh of Bijawar As the former was supported by majority, he was recognised by the government During his minority, the State was administered by a Council presided over by the Political Agent Mangal Singh was invested with full powers of administration in 1877 Events of his rule, deserving mention were the agreement under the Native Coinage Act on May 10 1877 for the supply of silver coins bearing the Alwar device from the Calcutta mint and the Salt Agreement of April 17, 1879 prohibiting the manufacture of salt within the State

Mangal Singh died on May 22, 1892 and was succeeded by his only son, Jey Singh, born on June 14 1882 The administration was conducted by the Council till he was invested with full ruling powers on December 10, 1903 by Lord Curzon

The spirit of communalism prevalent in British India had spread in some of the princely states by the third decade of the twentieth century, and Alwar was no exception to it The agrarian unrest in the State, collapse of Khilafat Movement in British India and the subsequent hindu muslim animosity encouraged the muslims of Alwar to agitate The cultivators of Neemuchana, a village in Alwar State took the lead in agitation On May 15, 1925 the entire village of 350 houses was set on fire[14] 'A massacre was committed of the helpless and poor cultivators of Neemuchana Five hundred to six hundred people

were slaughtered Hundreds of cattles were destroyed Immense loss was caused by the burning of the village[15] This event sent a thrill of consternation into the subjects of Indian States' Even Mahatma Gandhi had said, 'if all the reports that are published are true they are proof of Dyerism double distilled '[16]

Because of the mounting agrarian discontent the communal tension again flared up in 1933 in Marsauli, a village in the northern part of the State and soon spread in the districts of Tijara, Lachmangarh and Ramgarh The agitators attacked the Hindus and plundered their properties The Meo rebels numbered about 80,000 When the State authorities could not control the situation, the British forces were requisitioned Ultimately peace was restored A claim of Rs 2,23,195/ being the cost of expedition[17] up to December, 1933, was preferred against the Alwar Darbar out of which Rs 16,565/ were realised by the end of February, 1934

Because of these incidents in the state, the Government of India placed the Revenue and Police departments under the control of the British officials Capt A W Ibbotson was appointed as Revenue Officer and Mac Namara as Chief of Police[18] The Maharaja was unhappy with the British interference in internal affairs In March 1933, Francis Vernier Wylie was appointed as the Prime Minister of Alwar State against the wishes of the Maharaja

In the forties Maharaja Jey Singh had started sympathising the national movement At the Ganga Mata Darbar held on April 20, 1933 in Alwar, he resolved to use Swadeshi cloth in future, and at the Unity Conference in Allahabad while refering to the miserable plight of the Indian States said "After all, in our Indian States well governed or badly governed, we have or safeguards as regards finance, as regards our army or in any other field except in respe t of foreign relations which according to our treaties, were ceded to the British Crown[19] All these activities of the Maharaja alarmed the Paramount Power The communal unrest in the State was

made the pretext of British intervention and in May 1933 Col Ogilvie, Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana asked the Maharaja to select between the two courses (i) to quit Alwar for two years or (ii) to accept a commission of enquiry investigate into the conditions of the State [20] The notice was of a peremptory character giving him only 24 hours to decide upon the course The Maharaja requested the Viceroy to convey him the reasons behind the decision of the government But it proved of no avail 'The eyes of the Princes have now been opened to the serious danger which threatened them from this quarter [21] It was undoubtedly a new development in Indian polity and a thing quite unlooked for [22]

The Maharaja was prohibited from visiting any of the headquarters of the Government of India or the Agent to the Governor General As a result of this he left Alwar and went to Bombay, and thence to Paris and London The term of exile was later on extended to an indefinite period The communique issued by the Government of India Foreign and Political Department read "The term of the Maharaja of Alwar s absence from his State is indefinite The attention of the Government has been drawn to certain statements which have appeared in the press implying that the Maharaja will be returning to his State next march On the departure of H H from the State, the Government of India undertook the responsibility for the administration of the State until its finances were rehabilitated, its administrative machinery reorganised and its population restored to a measure of prosperity There is no prospect of this being achieved within the short space of two years and the term of his absence is, therefore indefinite ' [23] At last the Maharaja expired without an issue in Paris on May 20, 1937 and was cremated at Alwar on June 10

Maharaja Tej Singh, born on March 17, 1911, succeeded to the Gaddi with ruling powers on July 22 1937 The administration remained under the control of the Political Department of the Government of India till February, 1941 when for the first time the Executive Council was constituted to look after the administration of the State

Immediately on the declaration of the World War II, the Maharaja placed all his resources at the disposal of the Imperial Government Alwar Jey Paltan was sent abroad to serve the cause of the allies The battlion returned on December 3, 1945 after serving for five years in Abyssinia, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Agean Island and Dodecanese Islands Besides, the State since the outbreak of the war enlisted over 14 000 recruits for the Indian Army It was in addition to the huge contribution made towards the War Fund In August 1947, the State acceded to the Indian Dominion

Bharatpur

The State of Bharatpur was bounded in the north by the district of Gurgaon in the east by the districts of Mathura and Agra in the south by the States of Dholpur, Karauli and Jaipur and in the west by the States of Jaipur and Alwar, and the district of Gurgaon It was situated between north latitude 27 49 5′ and 26 42 5″ and east longitude 77 48 31″ and 76 54′ 33′ [24] The State covered an area of 1982 square miles,[25] its extreme length and breadth being 76 and 63 miles respectively

The Rulers of Bharatpur claimed descent from Madan Pal, a Jadon rajput[26] and the third son of Tahan Pal, who ruled at Bayana in the eleventh century Churaman is said to be the real founder of the ruling house of Bharatpur He built forts in the villages of Thun and Sinsini in Bharatpur State He captured Deeg and Kumher Churaman organised 'marauding expeditions and even ventured to harass the rear of the Imperial Army on the occasion of Aurangzeb s expedition to Deccan [27] In 1718 the Syeds then in power commanded Jey Singh of Amber to invest Thun and Sinsini, 'but the Jats, even in the very infancy of their power, evinced the same obstinate skill in defending mud walls, which in later times gained them so much celebrity'[28] On November 19, 1722 Badan Singh the younger brother of Churaman, was recognised upon a promise to pay tribute to Delhi, as the Raja of Deeg where he laid the

foundation of a principality which in future became the Bharatpur State [19]

Being tired of the depredations of the Marathas, Ranjit Singh concluded a treaty with the Company on September 29, 1803 and accepted the Company's protection [20] Nevertheless, the Raja of Bharatpur, while in alliance with the Company, secretly offered help to Jaswant Rao Holkar at Deeg who was then at war with the Company The fort of Bharatpur was invested by the Company's forces After repelling four assults,[21] Ranjit Singh concluded another treaty[22] with the Company on April 17, 1805 Maharaja accordingly agreed to pay an indemnity of twenty *lakhs* of rupees by instalment and to return districts of Kishangarh, Katawa, Rewari, Gokul and Sahar given to him in October 1803 for his services in defeating the Scindhia at the battle of Laswari Ranjit Singh was succeeded by his eldest son Randhir Singh who died on October 7, 1823 leaving the Gaddi to his brother Baldev Singh

Baldev Singh ruled for 18 months only and his ashes had scarcely become cold, when Durjan Sal uncle of Balwant Singh, forcibly took the reins of government in 1825 The British Government, thereupon s nt Lord Combermore with an army of 25 000 men who took Bharatpur by assault on January 18, 1826 An indemnity of 25½ lakh rupees was made payable by the State The authority of Balwant Singh was thus established in succession under the Regency of his mother and the superintendence of a Political Agent [23] Col Lockett was appointed as the first Political Agent of the State [24] But in September 1826, Her Highness Imrat Kaur was removed on account of her intrigues and a Council of Regency of the State Ministers was formed The Maharaja was invested with full ruling powers in 1835 and the Agency was withdrawn

Balwant Singh was succeeded by his only son Jaswant Singh then a minor of two years on March 21 1853 The administration during his minority was conducted by a Council of Five Sardars under the superintendence of a Political Agent

During his reign the Mutiny of 1857 broke out and Bharatpur 'lying so near to Agra remained in a ferment of unrest throughout the Mutiny period[35] M Thornhill, Magistrate of Mathura in his letter to H G Harvey, Commissioner, Agra division wrote that when Captain Nixon with Bharatpur infantry intended to intercept the rebels at Hodal, 'the whole force broke out in open mutiny and turned their guns upon us'[36] The infantry also plundered the Mathura treasury 'From plundering they commenced fighting, the great confusion followed' Colvin, Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana in his letter of June 30, 1857 to the Governor General of India also wrote, 'from intelligence received this morning, I learn that the Bharatpur troops have refused to oppose the Neemuch mutineers[37] C B Thornhill, Officiating Secretary, North West Provinces on July 16 1857 intimated to the Officer Commanding, Allahabad 'the Political Agent at Bharatpur has been desired by the Sardars to quit that State and he had proceeded towards Ajmer'[38] Major Morrison, Political Agent, left Bharatpur under the orders of Colvin on July 9, 1857 leaving the administration in the hands of Gulab Singh[39]

On March 11, 1862, Lord Canning the then Viceroy granted to Jaswant Singh and the future rulers of the State a Sanad of adoption, subject to the condition that the ruling house shall remain loyal to the Crown and faithful to its treaty obligations[40]

After a successful rule of twenty two years, Maharaja Jaswant Singh died on December 12, 1893 Ram Singh who succeeded his father was deprived of all powers in 1895 because of his intemperate habits and was deported to Deoli in Rajputana.

Ram Singh was succeeded on August 27 1900 by his minor son, Kishan Singh During his minority the administration was carried on by the State Council under the control of the Political Agent The principal events of his reign were the surrendering of 1600 acres of land in Bharatpur, Rupbas,

Bayana and Kumher for the construction of the Nagda Mathura railway the serving of the Bharatpur Imperial Service Trans port Corps in Somaliland in 1903 the Tibet Expedition in 1904 and the fighting at various fronts in the World War I The State also contributed to the tune of Rs 52,617/ towards the Imperial Indian Relief Fund in addition to its contribution of Rs 50 700/ On November 28, 1918 Maharaja Kishan Singh was invested with full ruling powers by Lord Chelmsford in Bharatpur Fort at 4 P M The Viceroy in his speech desired that the 'happy relations (between Bharatpur and the Govern ment of India) will always continue '[41]

The most sensational event in the history of Bharatpur was the appointment of Enquiry Commission The Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana in his letter of November 10, 1927 to Maharaja Kishan Singh wrote

"The finances of the Bharatpur State have been reduced by Your Highness continual extravagance to a condition of chaos and the administration of the State paralysed Your Highness has persistently ignored advice which has been repeatedly tendered to you and has given no consideration to the welfare of your State and of your subjects The Governmet of India have therefore, reluctantly come to the decision that in the interests of the future of Bharatpur State and of Your Highness subjects it is necessary to consider the question of modifying Your Highness powers Unless, therefore, Your Highness otherwise desires the Governor General under the terms of Resolution No 426 R, dated the 29th October 1920 will now proceed to appoint a Commis sion of Enquiry to conduct an investigation into the facts of the case and to offer advice

Your Highness will inform me without fail within four teen days from the date of receipt of this letter In the event of Your Highness not desiring a Commission to be appointed, the Government of India will take such steps as they deem suitable During the enquiry it will be neces

sary for Your Highness to reside in a place outside the limits of the territory of the Bharatpur State and not in its immediate vicinity Your Highness must also abstain from taking an active part in the administration of the State which during your absence will be entrusted to an officer appointed by the Government ' [42]

The Maharaja in his protest note of December 13, 1927 replied

"The proposal which requires me to hand over the administration of my State to an officer appointed by the Government of India, during the progress of the enquiry, is tantamount to a temporary deposition, whereas the condition that I would remain away from my State during that time is calculated to deprive me of the opportunity of contesting malicious allegations against me, at the right psychological moment Nor do the conditions, desired to be imposed on me appear to be invariably adopted when the conduct either of a public servant or even a private citizen forms the subject of an enquiry It would seem inequitable that this most elementary right should be denied to a ruling Prince "[43]

Resentment and agitations followed the decision of the Government The Secretary, All India Jat Mahasabha considered it as an undue interference in the internal affairs [44] The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes regarded it as a test case affecting their whole order [45] Protest meetings, convened at various places, condemned the high handedness of the Government As a result of opposition the Government withdrew the Bharatpur Enquiry Commission [46] The Maharaja thereupon agreed to implement any measure of reforms and concurred to the appointment of P G Mackenzie as Dewan on February 9, 1928 with full financial and administrative powers The British Dewan dissolved the municipalities, deported the loyalists and divested the Maharaja of all the administrative powers

Maharaja Kishan Singh died on March 27, 1929 and was succeeded by his son Brijendra Singh born on December 1, 1918.

During his minority the administration was conducted by the State Council It was on October 22, 1939 that the minority administration came to an end and Brijendra Singh assumed the position of the President of the State Council During the World War II he placed all the State resources at the disposal of the Imperial Government The State donated Rs 4 62 416/ for the War Funds and invested about 3½ lakh rupees in the War Loans

Assuming that the Instrument of Accession of July 31, 1947 might not be available after August 15 and that the State would then have to negotiate with the Government of India for terms which would probably be less favourable, the Maharaja being one of the last ditchers [47] accepted the accession of the State to the Dominion of India

Dholpur

Dholpur State was situated between 26 21′ 20″ and 26 57 4 parallels of north latitude, and between 77 16 15 and 78 18 49 parallels of east longitude It was bounded in the north and east by the British district of Agra in the west by the States of Karauli and Bharatpur and in the south by the Chambal river The State covered an area of 1197 square miles [48] with the extreme length of 72 miles from north to south and the average width of about 16 miles 1 furlong

The ruling family of Dholpur belonged to the Deswali tribe[49] of Jats and traces its pedigree to Jeth Singh, who acquired land at Bairat, to the south of Alwar, in the eleventh century The family rose to honour under the Tonwar dynasty of Delhi and one of their descendants is said to have settled at Bamroli near Agra [50] from which place they took their name After *an occupation for* about *172* years *Ratan Pal* Bamrolia was driven to Gwalior by Munir Ahmed, Subedar of Agra In 1505 Surjan Deo fifth in descent from Ratan Pal, obtained from Raja Man Singh Tonwar of Gwalior, the territory of Gohad as a reward of his services and assumed the title of Rana [51] Emperor Sikandar Lodi, while recognising the possessions and title, conferred upon the Rana a Mansab

The ruling family which had lost its prominence earlier was pushed forward in 1803 04 by Lord Wellesley A defensive and offensive treaty was concluded between the Company and Maharaja Kirat Singh on January 29, 1804 The Company accordingly agreed 'to establish Maharaja Kirat Singh in the sovereignty of his hereditary countries of Gohad and some other districts 'free from all deductions or tribute under the guarantee of the Company' The treaty also laid down that three battalions of the Company shall be permanently stationed with the Maharaja for the protection of his country and for its expenses the Maharaja shall pay twenty five thousand rupees for each battalion monthly to the Company In the event of failure in monthly payment the Company retained the 'right of appointing a person to superintend the collection of the amount from the country [52] Since the Maharaja could neither maintain peace in the territory nor could make payment of the Company's forces, the treaty was declared null and void and a fresh treaty was concluded between the Company and Maharaja Kirat Singh on January 10, 1806 The Maharaja accordingly relinquished the possession of the fort of Gohad and other districts, granted to him by the previous treaty, and in exchange was assigned the districts of Dholpur, Bari and Rajakhera [53] which constituted the erstwhile State of Dholpur The grant of these districts was free from any demand of the Company The river Chambal was made the boundary line between the territories of Scindhia and the Dholpur State

Maharaja Kirat Singh died in 1836 and was succeeded by his son Bhagwant Singh During his reign the incidents which took place in the neighbouring provinces in the course of the Mutiny had their repercussions in Dholpur also Early in October the combined insurgent forces of Gwalior and Indore ranging from 4000 to 5000 in number entened the State The 'army of the Rana of Dholpur deserted him as did also some of chief officers and joined the rebels '[54] The authority of the ruling Prince was set at naught, his property was plundered and the State was put under exactions.

The Chief, surrounded and hard pressed by the rebels who threatened his life, was constrained to agree to their demands His authority was held in abeyance till December 1857, when at his requisition, the Patiala Chief, with the concurrence of the Chief Commissioner, Punjab and North West Provinces sent a force of 2000 Sikhs and four guns to Dholpur to restore order William Muir in his letter of October 8 1857 to Colonel Greathed in Delhi intimated that the Dholpur mutineers had encamped at Gojond to attack Agra, Bharatpur and Etawah To him was sent an appeal for relief which urged him to speed up the movement to Agra and send forward 500 cavalry and troops of horse artillery '[55] Dholpur revolutioneries crossed the Kharee river on October 9 1857 and attacked Agra Cantonment on the next day The mutineers however were defeated and dispersed Similarly, Colonel Hugh Fraser in his letter of October 31, 1857 to the Governor General of India wrote that the Dholpur mutineers had attacked Fatehpur Sikri on October 29, 1857 'A fierce fight took place Most of the rebels fled but some fought desperately[56] The Mutiny in India was crused with a heavy hand but it also marked the end of the East India Company It should not be forgotten that but for the Mutiny the Proclamation of Queen Victoria which is looked upon by the natives of India as the Magna Carta of their liberties would never have been issued '[57]

On Bhagwant Singh s death in February 1873 his grand on Nihal Singh a minor of nine years was recognised as the successor Dinkar Rao was appointed as the guardian of the minor Chief with general powers of administration under the control of the British authorities Maharaja Nihal Singh was succeeded by his son Ram Singh on July 20 1901 The administration during his minority was conducted by the Superintendent, assisted by a Council under the general supervision and directions of the Political Agent The Maharaja was invested with full ruling powers on March 2 1905

Ram Singh was succeeded by his younger brother Udai bhan Singh on March 29 1911 The administration during

his minority was carried on by the State Council consisting of two members with a British officer as President under the general directions of the Political Agent This arrangement continued up to October 9 1913 when Udaibhan Singh was invested with full ruling powers The Khillat and the Kharita were presented to him assuming that he would 'administer the State wisely and to the benefit of subjects' and that he would use his best endeavours to prove worthy of the trust now reposed in him [58]

On the declaratian of the World War I, Maharaja Udaibhan Singh placed his personal services and the State resources at the disposal of the British Governm nt All important ordinances issued by the Government in connection with the war were adopted and promulgated in the State Branches of Imperial War Relief Fund and St John Ambulance were set up in the State to collect funds for the relief of the sufferers in the war The Maharaja sent 2600 recruits, subscribed a heavy amount towards War Fund and placed his buildings in Dholpur as well as in British India at the disposal of the British Government during the war During the World War II also the state resources were placed at the disposal of the Imperial Government In recognition of his unswerving devotion and fidelity he was made K C S I on January 1, 1918 Lt Colonel on October 24, 1921, K C V O on March 17 1922 and a G C I E on June 19 1931

During his rule His Highness introduced extensive improvements in almost every branch of administration as a result of which it proved to be one of the most solvent and progressive States in India [59] However, On August 14, 1947 Maharaja Udaibhan Singh signed the Instrument of Accession and the State was acceded to the Dominion of India

Karauli

Karauli State was situated between 26 3 and 26 49 north latitude, and 76 34 ard 77 24 east longitude with an **area of**

1242 square miles[60] It was bounded in the north by Bharatpur, in the north west and west by Jaipur, in the south and south west by Gwalior and in the east by Dholpur In shape the State was approximately an oblong of about 56 miles from east to west and 25 miles from north to south[61]

The ruling family of Karauli belonged to the Jadon rajput clan[62] It is said that at one time the Jadons who lived near the territory of Brij around Mathura held half of Alwar the whole of Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli the British districts of Gurgaon and Mathura the greater part of Agra to the west of Jamuna and the portions of Gwalior lying along the river Chambal[63] Tahan Pal the eldest son of Bijai Pal settled himself there at about 1058 A D

In 1196 Muhammed Ghori and his general, Kutb ud din captured the whole of Jadon territory and forced Kanwar Pal to take refuge in a village in Rewa State The territory remained in possession of the invaders for a period of about 130 years, when Arjun Pal a descendant of Kanwar Pal, captured the lost territory and made Karauli[64] the capital of his State in 1348

The Jadon rajputs had hardly administered the State for hundred years when it was conquered by Mahmud I of Malwa During the reign of Akbar it was incorporated in the Mughal Empire Later on, the State was run over by the Marathas who exacted a tribute of Rs 25 000/ annually which was afterwards commuted for a grant of Machilpur village and its dependencies to the Peshwa[65] Karauli had thus the usual ups and downs which had been the fate of every State in this area[66]

On November 9, 1817 a treaty was concluded at Delhi for the first time between Charles Theophilus Metcalfe of the Company and Meer Utteekoola on behalf of Maharaja Har baksh Pal Deo of Karauli under which the State accepted the British protection and was relieved of exactions of the Mara thas[67] No other events of importance occurred in Karauli till

the death of Harbaksh Pal in 1838 He was succeeded by his adopted son Partab Pal, who died in 1848 without a successor

Nar Singh Pal, a minor, was adopted by the ruling family as the successor to Partab Pal British Government in the begining withheld his recognition for non payment of the State debt amounting to Rs 1,54,312/ But because factions at Karauli were gaining strength and conditions were deteriorating the Government, recognised the succession of Nar Singh Pal Captain Monck Mason was appointed as an Agent to control the affairs of the State Nar Singh Pal died on July 10, 1852

Nar Singh Pal had adopted on a day before his death a distant relation named Bharat Pal But his succession was opposed by Madan Pal, a nearer kin of the deceased Raja Madan Pal had a strong party of adherents like the Rulers of Jaipur, Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur, royal queens and the influential Thakurs of the State The Government, therefore, recognised him in 1854 Though the Agency was withdrawn in 1855 but Madan Pal was warned that in the event of his failing in regular payment of the annual instalment of the debt, then reduced to Rs 94,312/ , one or more of his districts would be sequestrated by the British Government till the whole of the debt should be liquidated

During the period of storm and stress in 1857, Karauli evinced staunch fidelity to the Paramount Power and immediately on requisition for aid by Colvin in May 1857, Madan Pal despatched 'six hundred brave Jadon matchlockmen under Nawab Saifulla Khan to serve the Government at Agra [48] The Maharaja at the same time issued 'a proclamation to his subjects pointing out in the strong language to delusion under which the faithless sepoys were labouring, he called upon his people not only not to join the rebels, but to help him in fighting for the Government [49] He drove out of his territory the fugitives from the Gwalior forces

The revolt in Kotah was the most severe incident in Rajputana It was here that the Political Agent, Major Burton

with his two sons and doctor Saldar were murdered on October 15, the Chief of Kotah was beleaguered in his palace and the administration was taken over by the rebels The Maharaja of Karauli at the request of the Maharao of Kotah sent a detachment of 800, followed by a reinforcement of 1500 'These troops proved themselves bold and trustworthy soldiers, and drove the rebels from that part of the town where the palace was situated and of which they were able to retain possession for two months till the arrival of the British troops [70] Madan Pal for his loyalty was made Grand Commander of the Order of Star of India His salute was raised from 15 to 17 guns and the State's entire debt, amounting to Rs 1 7 lakh, was remitted The Sanad guaranteeing the privilege of adoption to the Rulers of this State was granted in 1862 and it is remarkable that the succeeding Chiefs were all adopted sons

On August 17, 1869 Madan Pal died Lachman Pal, Rao of Hadoti and the nephew of Madan Pal was installed as the Raja, but he died on September 14 of the same year Jai Singh Pal, succeeded to the gaddi but he also died without any successor on November 19 1875

Under instructions from the Government Arjun Pal the Rao of Hadoti and second cousin of Jai Singh Pal was installed as Chief on January 1, 1876 by Col Wright the then Political Agent But owing to the financial difficulties, a temporary change was made in the administration by transfering the Ruler s authority to a Council with full powers under the control of the Political Agent

Arjun Pal died in July 1886 and was succeeded on August 14, 1886 by his nephew Bhanwar Pal the Rao of Hadoti whom he had adopted The administration remained in the hands of the Council till June 1889 when the Chief was invested with full powers and the State cleared off all its debts [71] In 1906 the British currency was introduced in place of the State coinage and the State mint was closed As the State owed about three lakh rupees to the Government, the finances of the State were,

therefore placed under the control of the Political Agent, Eastern Rajputana States This arrangement continued up to September 1, 1917 when the Government withdrew financial re trictions, imposed upon the Darbar [72]

Maharaja Bhanwar Pal died on August 3, 1927 leaving no male child and was succeeded on August 21, 1927 by Bhom Pal, Rao of Hadoti The Maharaja was assisted in adminis tration by a State Council of two members The State Council was abolished in 1932 and in its place a Dewan, assisted by an Assistant and a Secretary, was appointed to carry on the administration [73] This arrangement continued till July 25, 1940 when Bhom Pal delegated all his powers to the heir apparent Ganesh Pal who thenceforth presided over the meet ings of the Council (Ijlas Khan) For efficient administration the 'Constitution for the Governance of the Karauli State, 1945' was drafted and enforced from October 8 1945 Under the new constitution the administration was to be carried on by the State Council In August 1947, the State acceded to the Dominion of India

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2

Land And Financial Resources

The study of political developments in any state or country would be incomplete without a reference to its land, financial resources and social institutions Hence, a researcher in the field of administrative and constitutional development in the Eastern Rajputana States should not fail to take a note of financial resources and social institutions which to some extent form the background of the study Land and financial resources have been described in this chapter whereas, the nature of social set up is attempted in the next chapter

Alwar

Land and Forests

Ridges of rocky and precipitous hills, for the most part, are a feature observeable throughout the territory The hills on the western border rise boldly and abruptly, presenting an almost impassable wall of rock the highest peak in the state being near Baragaon The principal rivers in the territory are the Sabi the Ruparel the Chuhar Sidh, the Lindwa, the Partabgarh and the Ajabgarh

State forests which covered an area of 491 square miles and 236 acres were classified into three heads Reserved (entirely state property free from all rights of the citizens), Protected (with some rights to people for grazing and cutting of grass) and Private (Zamindari Jagir and Muafi forests) In 1945 46 the reserved forests measured about 2 28 852 acres while the protected forests covered about 26, 913 acres [1]

For administrative efficiency the forests were divided into three ranges Alwar, Rajgarh and Seriska, each under a Range officer The Forest Officer was over all incharge of the department Main functions of the department were protection of forests collection of amounts from grazing, quarries and fines,

sale of forest products preserving the soil from erosion, exploiting the chemical and industrial potentialities of the forests and trying forest offences The annual income from forests had b en Rs 1,10,960/ (1910 11), Rs 1,89,288/ (1921 22), Rs 1 55 083/ (1930 31), Rs 2,33 961/ (1944 45) and Rs 2,28,614/ (1945 46)

Agriculture

The average annual rainfall of the state had been about 22 inches It varied from 26 in the city of Alwar at the centre and at Thana Gazi in the north west to less than 17" at Lachmangarh in the south east The eastern tract had generally less rain than the western On the basis of soil the state could be classified into three natural classes viz Chiknot, Mattiyar and Bhur Taking the state as a whole, 15 per cent of the soil was Chiknot, about 62 per cent Mattiyar and 23 per cent Bhur [3]

In 1943 44 the Grow More Food campaign was launched and various measures were taken, such as the replacement of non essential crops by essential food grains, reclamation of culturable fallow lands, liberal distribution of taccavi loans and prompt repairs of necessary dams In 1945 an Irrigation Committee[3] of three members was appointed to devise ways and means to develop irrigation and thereby accelerate Grow More Food campaign However, the total cultivated area in the state in bighas had been 12,36 096 (1894 95), 13,46,945 (1921 22), 13,69,265 (1930 31), 13,91,595 (1940 41) and 14,43,253 (1945 46)

Population

The state had the population of 7 78 596 in 1871 It lost 13 70 per cent[4] of its population during the famine of 1877 78 The population had been variable but its variations were not very significant Population at the different enumerations had been 7 67 786 (1891) 8,28 487 (1901), 7 91 688 (1911), 7,01,154 (1921), 7,49 751 (1931) and 8,14 142 (1941)

The Hindu population inhabiting the state prior to the partition of India numbered about 74 per cent, while the Muslims were about 24 per cent of the total population The Hindu population mainly consisted of brahmins, rajputs mahajans, jats, ahirs and gujars, while the Muslims, mostly of the sunni sect, consisted of meos and khanjadas Scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and others formed 2 per cent of state population

On the basis of population, the state was divided into five tracts the Raht, the Wal the Rajawat, the Narukhand and the Mewat [5] The Raht, on the north west border, was occupied by the Chauhan rajputs and the Wal, on the western border by the rajputs of the Shekhawat clan The Rajawat, in the south west, was a territory of Rajawat rajputs of Jaipur while the Narukhand, in the south east, of the Naruka rajputs The Mewat which covered more than half the territory of the state was inhabited by the meos

Trade and Commerce

Industry by far was not very important in the state It consisted only of weaving of coarse cloth, dying of turbans and stone carving of perforated screens and idols A large number of factories mainly of soda ash, nail manufacturing paints and varnish, textile handlooms, match sticks, chemicals and hosiery were set up in the State during the second post war period A Department of Commerce and Industry was established for the first time on March 1 1944 with a view to developing the mineral and material resources of the state assisting in the solution of various Post War Reconstruction and Development Programmes and formulating trade and industrial schemes including ways and means for stimulating commercial and industrial prospects [6]

Revenues

Apart from the land revenue and income from the Jagirs, which is discussed separately, the state derived considerable revenues from other sources They were the transit duties on commerce and trade, duties realised from commercial marts,

duties on mines and marble quarries, matampursi nazarana for confirmation of estates[7], duties on the sale of spirit, opium, tobacco and other intoxicating drugs, license fees for the sale of intoxicants salt treaty receipts[8] camel grazing tax, nazool tax on property,[9] school cess[10] house tax, cess on temple grants,[11] dog tax, milai (meeting) charges[12] and road tax These taxes were in addition to the revenues of the departments of forest, justice, jail, police, press and power house The privilege of coining was a royal monopoly and the mint was a considerable source of income The gross receipts of the state however, had been Rs 20 90 543/ (1871 72), Rs 33 05,697/ (1910 11), Rs 40,02,787/ (1918 19), Rs 41,03 261/ (1940 41, Rs 65,46,463/ (1943 44) and R 77 13,699/ (1945 46) against the total expenditure of Rs 16 17,218/ , Rs 26,18 999/ , Rs 39,78,150 Rs 36,96 702/ , Rs 40 44 513/ and Rs 67,50,212/ respectively

Bharatpur

Land and forests

The general superficial configuration of the territory is flat and low in the northern region Its uniform character is interrupted by hills in the north by a hilly district in the south, and by low ranges on some parts of the western and south eastern frontier A great part of the territory is not fertile, the soil being hard and dry and in places much deteriorated with sand It also suffers from the want of water but is rendered productive by the industry of inhabitants in irrigating and cultivating it So the traveller cannot fail being impressed with the prosperous appearance of Bharatpur, where almost every part is cultivated contrasting strongly with the barren aspect of other parts

The principal hills are of low range forming the boundaries between the parganas of Pahari and Gopalgarh of Bharat pur and Firojpur and Alwar The principal hills are Chapra Kalapahar, Sidgirpahar, Bansi Paharpur, Damdama, Rasia, Manpur and Madhoni The territory is poorly supplied with rivers, none of them being navigable or even perennial The

principal rivers, however, are the Banganga the Ruparel, the Gambhir and the Kakund [1]

In the begining Bagar Depaptment used to look after the forests of the state but in 1941 the Department was completely over hauled and certain innovations were introduced [13] (i) The Bharatpur State Forest Act III of 1934 was modified on the lines of the Indian Forest Act, (ii) Ghana Keola Deo which had been unscientifically working in the past was closed for tree cutting for the next ten years Only dead trees were allowed to be extra ted, and (iii) Rotational grazing was introduced

In 1942 43 the forests were classified into Reserved inclu ding game preserves aggregating an area of 2,113 bighas and Protected aggregating an area of 2 10 293 bighas [14] The num ber of reserved and protected forests was 18 and 80 respectively For administrative purposes, the forests were divided into two circles Bharatpur circle comprising Bharatpur and Deeg tehsils, and Baretha circle comprising Weir, Bayana and Rupbas tehsils

Agriculture

Of the total area of 1982 square miles, an area of 1598 square miles was cultivable Remaining 384 square miles consisted of forests, hills roads grass reserves and sites of villa ges and towns On the basis of quality, the soil could be classified into Chiknot, Mattiyar and Bhur With regard to irrigation, the soil could be categorised into Chahi, Barani and Sairaba

In May 1912 an Agricultural Model Farm with an area of 68 bighas was set up by the Darbar Thereon experiments in cultivation of cotton and jute were made with good results In 1916 17 a Co operative Bank was established to provide credit facilities to the cultivators A sum of three lakh rupees was earmarked for the Irrigation Wells Fund by the bank In 1939 40 the Bharatpur State Village Market Act No I of 1940 was promulgated to check the intermediary profits of the creditors The reasonable prices for each type of crop were fixed accordingly

Population

According to the census taken for the first time in the state on July 10, 1867 the population was 7,43, 687[15] It lost 14 per cent of its population in 1881 owing to famines and epidemics in the preceeding years The population at the different decennial enumerations had been 6,40,303 (1891), 6 26 665 (1901), 5,58,785 (1911) 4,96 437 (1921), 4,86,954 (1931) and 5,75,625 (1941) Hindus and muslims, inhabiting the state prior to the partition of India, had been 81 and 18 per cent of the total population respectively Of the numerous castes of the hindus, the principal were the chamars, jats, gujars, brah mins kshtriyas and the minas

Revenues

Apart from the land tax in the khalsa demesne the other sources were the transit duties on commerce and trade, cess of one per cent for educational purpose , realisation of penalty from the jagirdars on refusing or failing to join the services on demand road cess of one per cent, nazool tax,[16] chauth or one fourth revenue on Inami lands Patwar Fund charges [17] matam pursi nazrana on confirmation of estate, duties on sale of spirit, opium, tobacco, charas, bhang and poppy heads including the license fee for the sale of intoxicants, duties on mines and marble quarries, salt treaty receipts,[18] vehicle tax etc These receipts were in addition to the revenues of the departments of forest, justice, jail, police, gardens and court stamps The total revenues of the State, however, had been Rs 28 60,902/- (1875 76), Rs 34 65 244/ (1911 12), Rs 41,64,870/ (1936 37), Rs 50,37,579/ (1942 43) and Rs 64,98 020/ (1944-45) against the total expenditure of Rs 25 88,112/ , Rs 33,32,541, Rs 39,53,978/ , Rs 48 36 259/ and Rs 64 27,903/- respectively

Dholpur

Land and Forests

Ridges of red sandstone and nodular limestone are a feature observeable in the territory A ridge with the breadth of 2 to 14 miles runs over 60 miles from north east to south west boundary of the territory The elevation on ridge side

varies above the sea level from 560 to 1074 feet, while the elevation of the rest of the country varies from 500 to 700 feet Soil is poor on the sandstone ridge and in its immediate vicinity but it becomes richer and more fertile in proportion to the increase of distance from the ridge, and of immunity from the deteriorating admixture of detritus yearly washed into it The Domat or mixture of sand and clay, which covers the parganas of Baseri, Kolari and some portions of Bari and Rajakhera is very productive In the Rajakhera paragana, an area of about 90 square miles is covered with black soil, p oducing excellent cold weather crops The principal rivers in the territory are the Chambal, the Ban Ganga, the Parbati the Merka and the Merki The Chambal by far the longest river runs over 100 miles in the territory It is bordered by a labyrinth of ravines and because of its rapid changes of levels, is unnavigable The other rivers are mostly seasonal

There are no real forests in the territory but in several tracts of land common trees like khair, chonkar, kareel and peelu are found The grass reserves supplied fodder for the state elephants, horses and cattle The surplus if any was sold to the public The forest revenue was derived mainly from the sale of firewood, charcoal, fodder, grass, nursery plants and quarries

Agriculture

The climate of the territory is generally healthy hot winds blow steadily and strongly during the months of April, May and June The average rainfall is between 27 and 30 inches The natural soil could be classified into Kachhar and Domat In the ravines of the Chambal, the Banganga and the Parbati there is a good amount of alluvial deposit (Kachhar) on which fine crops are raised In the north and north west, a mixture of sand and clay known as Domat, is equally productive The best cultivated parganas are Baseri Kolari and Bari It is estimated that about 36 4 per cent of the total area of the territory is usually cultivated, while 63 6

per cent is either barren, left uncultivated or occupied by the sites of villages, rivers and dams

Population

A rough census, made during the land survey of the state in 1876, showed its population as 2 27 976 The subsequent decennial population enumerations were 2,49,657 (1881), 2,79, 890 (1891) 2 70 973 (1901) 2 63 399 (1911), 2,30,188 (1921) 2,54,986 (1931) and 2 86 901 (1941) The decrease in the population of 1901, 1911 and 1921 was as ribed to emigration due to famines and epidemics during the respective preceding years Prior to the partition of India more than 92 per cent of the total population of the state was hindu, and about 6 per cent muhammadans The principal castes among hindus in habiting there included brahmins, jats, chamars, gujars, minas, malis kachhis, lodas, rajputs and thakurs Agriculture was the main occupation of the people

Trade and Commerce

There were no manufacturers of importance in the state The chief exports were sandstone, cotton, bajra, gram, barley, oilseeds and skins The chief imports were salt, rice, spices, sugar, cloth, petrol, kerosene oil, coal and general merchandise

Revenues

In addition to the land tax in the khalsa villages and income from jagirs, the state derived considerable revenues from other sources like the transit duties on commerce and trade duties on commercial marts in fairs[19] duties on mines and stone quarries, duties on the sale of spirit, opium, tobacco and other intoxicating drugs license fee for the sale of intoxicants salt treaty receip s[20] toll tax on ghats of the river Chambal, Kusrat comm ssion from the contractors of commissariat department,[21] Nazarana on succession to hereditary lands by Jagirdars and the quit rent from the estates of Sir Mathura and Rijhoni These taxes were in addition to the income of the departments of forest, justice, jail police, post and telegraph, stamps, registration and railway[22] The total receipts of the

state, however, were Rs 9,87 755/ (1880 81) Rs 11 83 003 (1906 07) Rs 13,98 395/ (1915 16), Rs 21,19 864/ (1942 43) against the total expenditure of Rs 8 3?,494/ Rs 10,72,196/ Rs 12 48 478/ and Rs 16 46 808/ respectively

Karauli

Land and forests

The territory is divided into two distinct strips running parallel to the course of the river Chambal The south eastern strip is in the Dang tract a name given to the rugged region immediately above the narrow valley of the Chambal The north western strip is composed of a series of hills with fertile valleys in between them The chain of hills formed the boundary line between Karauli and Jaipur while the Chambal river formed the southern boundary separating the state from Gwalior The Banas and Morel rivers irrigating the Sapotra tehsil formed the north western boundary of the state The Panchnad (five rivers) rising in Karauli itself irrigate the tehsils of Hazoor, Utgir Mandrail and the western part of Machilpur The other rivers Bhadrawati and the Barkhera, though useful are not navigable The climate on the whole is salubrious with an average rainfall of 29 inches

Prior to 1913 the Bagar department used to look after the forests and Roondhs In pursuance of the report of J H Lyall Assistant Conservator of Forests the forests were demarcated and the Forest Deparment was set up for the first time in 1913 Forests were classified into Rooondhs Preserves and open jungles The Roondhs supplied grass for the state animals the Preserves were meant for hunting, and open jungles provided pastures free grazing and free wood for agricultural implements and huts The income of the department was from the sale of timber firewood, fodder bamboos, fees for grazing, fines for committing forest offences and contracts of quarries

Agriculture

The soils found in the territory are of different kinds They are locally known as Dhammi (brownish soil), Pilota

(darkish yellow), Burli (sandy soil) and Kankrili (mixture of pebbles and black soil)[22] The soil in the Dang proper is clayey, which is good for rice growing In western sector, the dhammi, pilota and black soils are available which on being manured yield bumper crops The strip on the bank of the Chambal river known as Tir, is of alluvial soil which is good for wheat, barely and gram produce The chief crops of the territory are wheat, gram, barley, jowar, moth bajra,rice, cotton, poppy and sugarcane

According to the Final Report of the First Settlement of the Karauli State 1909 12, 76 3 per cent land of the total area was uncultivable because of the hills, ravines and sites of the towns and villages Of the remaining area only 17 57 per cent was usually cultivated[23] In 1916 the total Khalsa land of 4 94 859 acres yielded the revenue of Rs 7,22 166[24]

Besides rainfall, the means of irrigation are wells, tanks dams and rivers Wells are chiefly employed to irrigate about 75 per cent of the total irrigated area With the object of improving irrigation facilities a Five Year Irrigation Programme was lanuched in 1939 40 and a large number of wells, tanks and dams were constructed in the state under this programme

Population

The state population at each of the decennial enumeration was 1 48,670 (1881), 1,56 587 (1891) 1,56 786 (1901), 1,46 587 (1911), 1,33,730 (1921) and 1,40 525 (1931) The ratio between the hindus and muslims inhabiting the state had been about 94 per cent and 5 per cent respectively The chamars banyas brahmins, rajputs and gujars were the chief castes of the hindu population

There were 405 towns and villages in the state in 1873 74 of which 208 were khalsa 13 istimarar 67 alienated for religious endowments 47 held by clans, 30 for zenana expenses and 40 on hereditary tenures In the forties the number of towns and villages increased to 437

Trade and commerce

The state did not have important manufactures Indi genous industries, however, were weaving and dying of coarse cloth manufacturing of gunny cloth wooden toys, kallis for hukkas, biddis, stone carving etc The chief imports were sugar, salt, indigo fine cloth, groceries and kerosene oil while the chief exports were cotton, rice, cereals opium and hides The trade was mainly with the neighbouring erstwhile states of Gwalior and Jaipur Customs dues were collected at the chabutras or customs posts, scattered over different parts of the state There were about 59 customs posts in the state The revenues of the Customs Department were Rs 96 519/ (1932 33), Rs 1,04,454/ (1935 36) Rs 96 237/ (1939 40) Rs 81,832/ (1940 41), Rs 72,724 (1941 42) Rs 1 59 656/ (1942 43) Rs 2 28 057/ (1943 44) and Rs 3,23 063(1944 45)

Revenues

Apart from land revenue the state derived considerable revenues from other sources Main sources were the transit duties on commerce and trade, duties realised from commercial marts and cattle during the fairs duties on quarries duties on the sale of liquor opium, ganja and other intoxicants and the license fees thereon salt treaty re eipts,[25] road tolls on the Hindaun and Kaila Devi Roads, grazing tax on camels and goats[26] annual tributes paid by the jagirdars and bapotidars locally known as Khandi[27] death duties or Matmi and confir mation of jagir[28] nazarana from the jagirdars,[29] and fines on failure of jagirdars or land holders to whom land had been granted on condition of military services on demand These sources were in addition to the income of the departments of forest justice, jail police, coinage stamps and court fees The gross State revenues however were Rs 4 97,542/ (1873 74), Rs 5 82 451/ (1901 02), Rs 7 35,546/ (1911 12) Rs 10 29,159/ (1928 29), Rs 12 77,414/ (1931 32) Rs 11,17,973/- (1943 44) and Rs 12,15 825/ (1944-45)

The foregoing sketch about the financial resources of Eastern Rajputana States indicate that

the forest wealth was fairly developed in this tract,

industry was not important in these states and only after the World War II trade and industry began to capture the attention of these rulers,

lack of industry was responsible for the lack of labour force in these states As such the labour problems were non existent,

commerce could not flourish because of a number of handicaps, namely, lack of rapid and regular means of trans port and communications abesnce of irrigation facilities and insufficient industrial incentive amongst the people,

states had moderate revenuers to suit the requirements and convenience of a feudal society The revenue sources were mainly from land revenue forests, customs, duties on mines and stone quarries excise duties on intoxicants, rent from the Jagirdars and estate holders, court, police, transit duties on commerce and trade nazrana from Jagirdars, stamps and jail,

revenues were mostly spent according to the wish of the ruler and his Council Further, there was no limit to privy purse and the chief had the privilege of spending any amount of public money on his pleasures and luxuries This affected the progress of the states

on a comparison of the nature of articles imported and exported, it could be inferred that these states were paying more on the goods of luxury than earning from indigenous products Besides, the taxation on merchandize was so excessive that it almost paralysed the trade,

mineral wealth was not fully exploited by the rulers,

salt agreements concluded between these states and the British government further affected the economy of the states The British government made huge profits at the cost of state resources The e facts adequately explain the weakness of the marketing structrue economic under development and unfavourable position of the volume of external trade and agriculture which ultimately gave rise to the agrarian agita tions in the states

References

1 Report on the Adminıstration of Alwar State 1945-46 p 53

2 Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol V Oxford Clarendon Press 1908 p 261

3 Report on the Administration of Alwar State 1945-46 p 39

4 Report on the Political Administration of Rajputana States 1880-81 p 168.

5 Powlett P W : Gazetteer of Alwar p 167

6 Report on the Administration of Alwar State 1943-44 p 48

7 It was realised on the sanction of mutation in favour of the successor of a deceased jagirdar at a uniform rate of Rs 50/ per service horse

8 As per Article 7 of the treaty of April 17 1879 the British Government agreed to pay a sum of Rs 1 25 000/ per annum in addition to one thousand mounds of salt free of cost and duty to the Maharaja

9 It was collected on the sale and mortgage of property by public at the rate of one anna in a rupee on sale and half anna on mortgage

10 It was one per cent on land revenue Shop keepers were also required to pay one per cent of their sales The fund was utilised for schools in villages

11 A cess of 10 per cent on income from Rs 600/ to Rs 1000/ and 15 per cent on income over Rs 1000/ was deducted from the temple grants for sanskrit education

12 The fee was charged for meeting a prisoner in jail by a non official It was discontinued in 1939

13 Pillai Padmanabham Report on the Bharatpur Forests 1941 p 5

14 Report on the Administration of Bharatpur State 1942-43 p 22

15 Report on the Political Administration of Rajputana States 1867-68 Calcutta 1868 p 79

16 An advalorum of 5 per cent on mortgage and 10 per cent on sale and transfer of landed property was levied

17 The fund was collected for emoluments of the Patwaris It was discontinued in 1937

18 Article 7 of the treaty of January 23 1879 laid down that the British Government shall pay to the Maharaja a sum of Rs 15 000/ per annum The said sum was to be paid in half yearly instalments of Rs 7 500/

19 Two important fairs in the state had been the Sarad fair in Dholpur and Chari fair in Bari Duty on animals in addition to mart tax was charged at these fairs

20 Article 7 of the Salt Agreement of January 16 1879 laid down that the British Government shall pay Rs 60 000/ yearly to the Maharaja It was reduced to Rs 25 778/ yearly by the agreement of August 5 1870

21 A Commission of six pies per rupee was charged from the contractors supplying grass fodder or grains to the commissariate department

22 Report on the Administration of Dholpur State 1942 43 p 53 Dholpur State Railway had an average net profit of 4 5 per cent annually on the capital out lay of Rs 17 40 671/

23 Raw W Final Report on the First Settlement of Karauli State 1909 12 p 2

24 Ibid

25 Report on the Administration of Karauli State 1945-46

26 Article 4 of the Salt Agreement of January 23 1882 laid down that the British Government shall pay Rs 5000/ annually in lieu of import export and manufacturing restrictions

27 Tax was levied only on packs of camels and goats on the assumption that they must have grazed on road side while in transit It was collected by the customs department instead of the forest department

28 Report on the Administration of Karauli State 1939-40 p 7 The tribute was usually one-fourth of the produce of the soil

29 In case of direct lineal descendant, half of the yearly income of the estate and in case of a successor other than lineal descendant the whole years income was realised It was collected only once at the time of sanction of mutation

30 It was realised only in cases of disputed succession and was in addition to the fixed annual tribute

3

Political and Social Institutions

The fall of the Mughal Empire almost synchronized with the decline of the Rajput States They had been so closely integrated with the Mughal system that they found themselves without a steady political anchorage when that system collapsed in the first half of the 18th century A political vacuum was thus created Among the rajputs there were no princes who could visualize the restoration of rajput suzerainty in the north While the rajput princes exhausted their resources in petty quarrels and clan feuds, the ideal of Hindu Padshahi emerged in the south and waves of Maratha soldiers carried the flag across the heart of the country The rulers of Rajputana had been strangers to unity, with the result that they became a helpless prey to the Maratha aggression Karauli was run over by the Marathas and was made to pay a tribute of Rs 25,000 annually[1] The Marathas expelled the Jats of Bharatpur in 1770 71 from all their conquered territories of east of Jamuna[2] Scindhia in 1784 seized the entire territory including Bharatpur and only at the intercession of Rani Kishori, widow of Surajmal, Ranjit Singh could be restored to Bharatpur[3] Dholpur too had the usual ups and downs as had been the fate of other states in this region

A century of Maratha rapacity followed by inhuman atrocities of the Pindari excursions had so paralysed the ruling princes of Rajputana that they were not inclined to under rate the advantages likely to arise out of their treaty alliances with the British Most of them were then living in continual strife and as such stood in dire necessity of an over lordship which could afford them full protection[4] Politically blind militarily weak, morally and spiritually decaying, the Rajputs were not strong enough to defend their patrimony against the trained battalions of the Marathas But they were too deeply rooted

in the soil to be completely crushed by the unplanned excursions of the Peshwa, Scindhia and Holkar The result was devastation of Rajputana, but not the complete annihilation of the Rajput States The Rajputs had the shrewdness to understand that their deliverance from the Maratha terror lay in alliance with the rising power The instinct of self preservation brought them within the expanding circle of British imperialism [5] It is in this context that the political and social institutions in the erstwhile States of Eastern Rajputana are studied here

Political Institutions

Of the twenty one States and Chiefships in Rajputana, eighteen States belonged to the first rank in the Empire, being under treaty relations with the British Government Of these eighteen, fifteen were ruled by the Chiefs of Rajput clans [6] Bharatpur and Dholpur belonged to the Jat families and Tonk was ruled by a Mohammadan dynasty It was formed out of the convention which allowed Amir Khan to hold certain lands which he possessed in 1817

Clan System

Every Rajput State was, generally speaking of one particular clan politically organised into one unit [7] The supreme governing authority was in the hands of the hereditary Chief of the dominant clan, who was suppsoed to be the nearest legitimate descendant in direct male line of the founder of the State The principle of succession was that the ruler must belong to the founder s kin and the succession must go to a male member by primogeniture In absence of direct heir, the Chief was to be selected from any branch of the stock group, the choice sometimes going from one branch to another according to needs and circumstances Formal acceptance of the British Government was of course, necessary In case of dispute over succession, the Government stepped in to arbitrate and decide upon the successor

This clan system not only affected the internal administration of the States, it stood in the way of the political unifica-

with little interference imparted justice and collected their taxes In case of complaints at headquarters some disorder or deed of notorious violence, they were called by the Ruler Such matters were usually settled by a fine or a present

Below the minor chiefs and families were the alien clans who because of marriage alliances or by having come as a con tingent to aid the Chief of the State in some hard fought war or distant expeditions were granted land The heads of these alien families often held high ranks in the State

It could be said that most of the internal disorders of Rajputana were caused entirely by disputes between the ruling Chiefs and their nobles the Chiefs striving to breakdown the power of the kinsmen the nobles being determined to restrict the strength of their Ruler The Maratha invasions, of course reduced the strength of the nobles In spite of the fact that they were reduced in power circumscribed in territory compelled to yield much of their splendour and many of the dignities of birth the nobles did not abandon an iota of the pride and high bearing arising from a knowledge of their illustrious and regal descent

Social Institutions

Caste System

The caste system which divided the Hindu community into a multitude of almost hermetically sealed groups, hiera rchically graded and based on birth had been a distinctive feature of the Hindu society The system had been 'the steel frame of Hinduism [13] Originally, the Hindu society was divided into four castes namely Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra Subsequently as a result of the operation of such factors as racial admixture geographical expansion and growth of crafts which brought into existence new innovations the original four castes broke up into various sub-castes

While Hinduism strived for the cultural unity of all Hindus in the past the caste system socially disintegrated them into an ever increasing number of groups and sub groups It had

been undemocratic and authoritarian to the extreme 'It has given aristocracy of birth not of merit It has satisfied initiative, self confidence and spirit of enterprise It prevents the development of democratic state It has created the untouchable problem [14] It implies not only the negation of equality but the organisation of inequality exclusively on the basis of inheritence The caste system also influenced the institution of marriage This institution was governed by certain well defined rules of exogamy and endogamy [15]

The functional role of the different orders of society had been that the Brahmin was the preacher and teacher of the sacred lore, the Kshatriya was the fighter and protector of the country, the Vaishya was the producer of wealth and the tax payer, while the Sudra was ordained to exist for the performance of menial tasks It is in this functional context that the study of the caste system in the erstwhile States of Eastern Rajputana is necessary

Brahmin

The brahmins enjoyed grant of land, prestige and position in Alwar Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli They were of two classes, first, those who performed priestly functions and were granted lands for the maintenance of temples, secondly, those who were given political and administrative functions The brahmins in Alwar belonged mostly to Gaur Saraswat and Kanyakubja divisions, while in Bharatpur they were divided into Panch Gaur and Panch Dravid The Panch Gaurs who belonged to the tracts north of the Vindhya and worshipped Vishnu included in them Gaur, Kanyakubja, Utkal, Maithul and Saraswat clans The Panch Dravids who belonged to the tracts south of the Vindhya and worshipped Shiv included in them Gujrati or Nagar, Dravid Maharashtrian, Tilagu and Karnatic clans In Dholpur there were Golapurah brahmins who claimed to be Pathak brahmins The brahmins in Eastern Rajputana States were mostly priests, state servants, money lenders, petty traders and cultivators

Kshatriya

The Kshatriya class in Rajput States was composed of the Prince's relations the nobility and other chiefs of petty estates The Rajputs were of several clans viz , Kachwahas, Chauhans, Jadons Rathores Sisodias and Jhalas Whatever might be their origin all these clans acquired a certain homogeneity by constant intermarriages and adoption of common customs They were all distinguished by their clan feeling their implicit obedience to the Chief their blood relationship and their sense of communal property

In Alwar State the Rajput inhabitants were of the Kachwaha and Chauhan clans Some possessed estates others were in service chiefly the army while some followed agriculture as their occupation The estate of Nimrana was held by the Chauhan Rajput of the Sankat sub-clan and claimed to be connected by descent with the famous Raja Prithvi Raj of Delhi The Kshatriyas in Bharatpur State were confined to Chauhan Rathore and Kachwaha clans They were mostly in army or state service In Dholpur there were the estates of Sir Mathura, Rijhoni and Bilowni The estate of Sir Mathura was held by the descendants of Mukat Rao a Jadon clan of Karauli State [16] The estates of Rijhoni and Bilowni were held by the Jadons of Sir Mathura family [17] In Karauli the Kshatriya inhabitants were mostly of the Jadon clan

Vaishya

The Vaishya class in Eastern Rajputana was engaged in agriculture, pastoral pursuits, industry and trade They were mostly traders shop-keepers money lenders, state servants accountants and cashiers The principal divisions among them were–Oswal Maheshwari, Saraogi, Agarwal, Khandelwal, Paliwal, Dilwaria etc

Sudra

The function of a Sudra was the service of the twiceborn and was ordained to exist for the performance of all menial tasks In Bharatpur about 34 Sudra castes were commonly

found [18] They included goldsmiths, rebaries (camelmen) ahirs, carpenters gardeners masons betel sellers, blacksmiths, tailors, potters oil sellers, kahars barbers washermen, cobblers chamars weavers, nats (acrobats), scavangers and others In Dholpur there were 62 inferior castes [19] the chief being chamars, kachhis and lodhas In Alwar chamars were about 12 per cent of the total population while in Karauli they were second in number to the principal castes Besides tanning they also followed agricultural pursuits

Apart from the four principal castes the other inhabitants in Eastern Rajputana State were the Jats Gujars Minas, Meos and the Muslims

Jats

The Jats were the descendants of the bold and adroit landholders and free booters who had raised themselves to the rank and power of territorial chiefs in the eighteenth century In Bharatpur there were six principal Dung or clans namely, Sinsinwar, Khuntial Chahar Nohar Sogarwar and Manga The other minor clan, known as Aooe included Naharwar, Pachandra and Dagur The dis inguishing featu e of the Dungs was that they did not practice the custom of keeping a brother's widow called Dhareecha, which the other Jats did, nor did they usually give their daughters in marriage to the Aooes, though they themselves married the daughters of the latter

The Jats practised polygamy and Dhareecha With regard to the offsprings of the Dhareecha the sons enjoyed equal rights of inheritence with those born in legal marriage, but the daughters did not The cruel practises of female infanticide, sati and jauher were non existent among the Jats They were vaishnavities but most of them took animal flesh and liquor Krishna was their favourite diety At present the Jats are found in almost all the parts of Bharatpur and Dholpur region

Gujars

Gujars, said to be derived from Rajputs, were divided

into two sections—Khari and Laur[20] The former consisted of Solania, Thathwaria, Doralia, Sipwar, Niskaria, Sua and Kharia clains They were prin ipally engaged in milk selling and butter making The Laur Gujars were divided into Kumhar Madi, Kisana Sirande and Chadri The Laur Gujars were held in esteem and had the privilege of providing nurses for the ruling family of Bharatpur They practised polygamy and Dhareecha They were vaishnavites and worshipped Mahadeo and Hanuman Their goddess was Deoki for whom a temple was built at Jhaj in the Weir pargana of Bharatpur State They had the largest population in Bayana pargana of Bharatpur

The Gujars in Dholpur were amongst the oldest known inhabitants of the State They lived along the bank of the Chambal, in the Dang or ravine and in the paraganas of Bari and Gird Formerly they were great cattle lifters but because of the severe repressive measures by the State they turned into agriculturists

Meenas

The Meenas claimed descent from the Rajput clans by irregular marraiges[21] Their society was framed on the model of the Rajput clans In Alwar State alone there were said to be 146 different septs of Meenas In Bharatpur they were divided into various clans like Sandan Jhardar Lohara, Jordar, Gasika, Thorat Bhokire Satkal Bardar Chilot and Goadar The Meenas in Karauli and Dholpur were considered to be the best zamindars and cultivators They took flesh and liquor and also practised Dhareecha They worshipped Hanuman and Bhairon

Muslims and Meos

There were many Muslims in the north eastern and the eastern parts of the erstwhile States of Rajputana They were regarded descendants of those immigrants who came from other parts of India and served the Chiefs or engaged themselves in commerce The country occupied by the Meos, called Mewat was 100 miles long from north to south and 80 miles wide from

east to west and extended over Gurgaon, Bharatpur and Alwar territories[22] The parganas of Bharatpur included in Mewat were Pahari, Gopalgarh Kaman, Nagar and a few villages in Deeg The Meos in Bharatpur had twelve clans, the first six of which were identical in name with the first six clans of the Meenas and claimed the same descent The principal clans were Singal, Nae, Doolote, Dondlote, Chirglote, Sundawat Ratawat, Durruwal and Khoka

They were converts to Islam, but Islam sat lightly on them and they retained many Hindu customs[23] They practised circumcision, Nikah and burial of the dead But they also observed holi, dewali, polygamy and the rules of exogamy Their daughters did not inherit They were addicted to intoxicating drinks and their dress resembled with that of the Hindus Their religious tenets could best be described that they kept the feasts of both religions and the fasts of neither'[24]

Untouchability

The social organisation of the Hindus, inherited from the pre British period, had many oppressive and undemocratic features The segregation of a section of the Hindus as untouchables, who were precluded from such elementary rights as the right of entry into public temples or of the use of public wells and tanks, and the physical touch of whom contaminated a member of the higher caste, constituted a most inhuman form of social oppression Though belonging to the Hindu society, the untouchables were its proscribed part[25] Under no institution was man so deeply humiliated and crushed as that of untouchability Their conditions can be well understood by the remarks of a representative of the depres ed classes at the plenary session of the Indian Round Table Conference :

'The depressed classes live a completely isolated life from the rest of the Hindus The Hindu priest will not officiate at the house of an untouchable and will not allow him to enter his temple The Hindu barber will not shave him The Hindu washerman will not wash his clothes The Hindu will not eat with him much less inter marry with him We can conceive

no greater social separation between any two communities than that which exists between the touchable and untouchable Hindus"[26]

Like other Indian States untouchability was prevalent in the erstwhile States of Eastern Rajputana also Karauli was a stronghold of con ervatism In 1932 33 the total number of untuchables in the State was 22 481 There were hundreds of temples, both State owned and private, but not a single temple was open to the Harijans in the entire State The denial of the right of worship to those who adhered to Hinduism was a gross injustice and a suicidal act The Harijan children were not admitted to schools Though a school was opened for them but it had to be closed down owing to opposition from the Hindus[27] Besides, they were 'not allowed to ride in the presence of the high caste Hindu, prepare sweets with ghee and wear ornaments of silver and gold[28] Such were the miserable conditions of untouchables in Karauli in the forties of the present century Surely it was a b d return for the hard and meritorious services the untouchables were rendering to society

Dholpur also had a large number of untouchables In 1933 the to al number of untouchables in the State was 45 332[29] The Rajputana Board of the Servants of the Untouchables Society surveyed the conditions of 9000 untouchables living in Dholpur proper and the towns of Bari, Raja Khera and Sir Mathura In the area surveyed there were 175 temples but they were all closed to the Harijans Though they were admit ted into schools but were made to sit at some distance from the upper caste Hindu students[30] Dholpur State Service Appoint ment Rules 1941 also laid down that castes such as 'Bahelia, Bharbuja Sheomaker Shepherd Butcher, Lodha Koli Cobbler Barber Julaha Kahar, Sweeper, Kanjar Khatick, Tailor Carpenter and other menials[31] shall not be appointed in the police The conditions of the untouchables in the States of Alwar and Bharatpur were equally miserable the extent of un touchability and other disabilities of course, varied from place to place

Like the progressive States of Travancore, Indore and Devas, the States of Alwar Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli though worked for the amelioration of the depressed classes but their efforts were half hearted Maharaja Jey Singh of Alwar in his presidential address of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal Adhiveshan at Benares on April 23 1933 appealed to the Pandits to find a solution to the problem of untochability and said "There are four Varnas and the fourth Varna Sudra is not outside the scope of Sanatan Dharma Let them (pandits) find a course according to the laws laid down in the scriptures by means of which it may be possible not to allow these to feel that they are outside the sphere of Sanatan Dharma and that they do not belong to it' [32] The Alwar Harijan Sewak Sangh and the Hindu Sangathan Movement[33] achieved tremendous success in awakening the Harijans about their rights and status The amelioration of the lot of untouchables in the State of Dholpur appeared to be the main plank of Maharaja Udai Bhan Singh's administration, and a munificent donation of Rs 6 000/ for sinking wells for Harijans,[34] reflected the ruler's solicitude for the down trodden The Social Reforms Act passed by the States of Alwar, Bharatpur and Dholpur in 1944 45, 1944 45 and 1939-40 respectively to a great extent elevated the conditions of the untouchables

Begar

The system of Begar prevailed in almost all the States of Rajputana The labourers, workmen and artisans were compelled to work at any time and for any period for the rulers and their officials Even the women young or old married or widow, were not exempted If any of these people, men or women, failed to work satisfactorily, they were flogged in public streets and tortured In addition to personal labour the agricultural slaves were required to supply their bullock carts and fuel the barbers were to shave and light lamps in the palaces, the potters to fetch water, the carpenters to make and mend furniture the tailors to measure and cut, the washerman to wash and rinse In fact every forced labourer was **required**

to work without any hope of payment or reward The payment, if any, was always inadequate It was exacted in the acutest form and attended with the greatest hardship to its victims on the occasion of Viceregal visits in the States [35]

Various efforts were made for the abolition of this practice by political and non political organisations The Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal and the Rajputana States People s Conference did herculian task by crusading against the practice The Rajputana States People s Conference at its sessions at Ajmer on November 23 and 24, 1928 passed a resolution for the abolition of Begar and urged the princes of Rajputana for taking necessary measures [36]

Benevolent and humane rulers of the erstwhile States of Eastern Rajputana endeavoured to eradicate the institution It was prohibited by law in the State of Alwar The officials, whether in towns or in villages were, strictly prohibited from taking Begar in any form whatsoever [37]

In Bharatpur also the institution was abolished Maharaja Kishan Singh in his inaugural address of the Cattle Fair at Rupbas in February 1927 declared ' The Chamars are in quite large number in my State I personally saw their condition and the first thing I did for them was that the inhuman system of exacting Begar was totally abolished Possibly some officers or other persons might still be exacting Begar labour Therefore I again clearly proclaim that in the Bharatpur State the system of Begar labour has been altogether abolished On this occasion I appeal to my beloved begar giving subjects to help me in this matter, and report to me directly any case of Begar labour being exacted from them so that the criminal who disobeys the royal order may be properly punished [38]

Although prohibited by law the practice continued in Dholpur among the high officials The grievances of the chamars said to have obliged many of them to leave their hearths and homes and migrate into neighbouring territories The system of unpaid forced labour though abolished by law in

Karauli, was found 'in a rather acute form in practice, the depressed classes being the usual sufferers'[39] In spite of sincere efforts of the Chiefs of the erstwhile States of Eastern Rajputana, the practice continued in one way or other

Slavery

There were slave communities in most of the Rajputana States These slave communities were known by various names, such as Darogas, Chakars Hazuris, Ravana Rajputs, Chelas Golas and Khawas In Jodhpur they were called Sheri Sirdar probably for their residing in the city In the western part of Marwar, they were designated as Wazirs and in Mewar they were known as Dass In Jaipur they were called Badarans and in Bundi as Bais In Alwar they were known as Manus[40]

The slaves with their wives and children were owned, body and soul, by the Princes The masters were at liberty to give away as part of the marriage dowry of their own daughters, the wives and daughters of the slaves Their marriage and divorce depended solely upon the sweet will of their masters

The Chakars or Golas were the 'illegitimate offsprings of Rajputs'[41] upon whom they attended as hereditary servants Those serving the ruling family had a superior status They mostly followed the customs of Rajputs and Nata was permitted among them The women called Golis were chiefly employed as maid servants They were admitted into Zenani Deodhi as concubines by the Rajput nobles and Chiefs, who paid a large sum of money to their parents or husbands The Golis thus admitted were called Pardayats meaning those taken into purdha, the techical phrase being Parda Ghalana, also Sona Pherana in which case gold was given to them to be worn on the ankle Nazars or eunuchs were the guardians of a seraglio The custom of employing Nazars as guards to the Zenani Deodhi was perhaps borrowed from the Muslim rulers The royal harem was under the charge of the Home Minister

Even in Alwar, whose Maharaja was represented by

Wedgewood Benn His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, as a 'remarkable man who shines in every walk of life and whose State bears, the marks of the good administration of its ruler, there were 2599 female slaves[42] apart from male slaves However, it was only on June 6 1948 that the Government of Rajasthan Union abolished Dawodi (maid slaves) system throughout the Union[43]

Female Infanticide

Female infanticide was commonly practised by the rajputs, though cases of its occurrence were also found among the lower ranks of the society The laws of endogamy and exogamy led to the dowry system and the great exp nse of procuring suitable matches for their daughters if they allowed them to grow,'[44] forced rajputs to adopt the practice of female infanticide They thus by infanticide escaped degradation[45] and the dread of dishonour to the fair[46] On the other hand Percival Spear held that infanticide was 'encouraged by economic stringency as security diminished[47] Last but not the least, the exhorbitant demand of the Charans and Bhats at the time of the celebration of marriage forced a rajput to kill his daughter so that he might be able to save himself from economic ruin and disgrace

On various occasions attempts were made in Rajputana to restrict the marriage expenses with a view to suppressing female infanticide but they failed because no uniform rule was ever adopted for the whole province It was due to the efforts of James Sutherland, J Ludlow and T Robinson that this custom was declared a penal offence in all the States of Raj putana in 1844 In March 1888 Colonel Walter, Governor General's Agent in Rajputana convened a meeting of the representatives of all the States of Rajputana Rules restricting the maximum proportion of a man's income that might be expended on his own his son's and relative s marriage together with the size of the wedding party were framed The minimum age was fixed at 18 for a boy and 14 for a girl It was also laid down that no second marriage should take place during the life

time of the first wife, unless she was barren or afflicted with an incurable disease The Walter Rajputra Hitkarini Sabhas founded in almost all the States of Rajputana endeavoured in mitigating the practice of female infanticide Maharaja Balwant Singh of Bharatpur also introduced a system of giving double the amount of bounty money known as Ghor for defraying the marriage expenses As a result of this the practice died out to a great extent among the rajputs in the State

Purdah System

The term Purdah which popularly means veil, when applied to a woman, signifies her seclusion from public society Various theories have been advanced about the origin of Purdah It is held by some that Muslim custom was respon sible for its growth, others hold that woman were secluded from the male s society because of their scanty wisdom, emotionalism and delicacy To this may be added the growing sense of in security caused by the invaders especially the Mughals It was also a measure of respectability among higher classes so that the higher the rank the smaller and higher were the windows and more secluded the women [48] We hear of separate buildings and apartments called Ranwas or Zenani Deodhi with separate establishments Dholpur had been much ahead of the times and many social organisations in the state were active in elevating the status of women Even Anti Purdah Conference was held in the State to check the system

Polygamy

'The Mughal harem had cast its baneful influence on the private life of the princes and nobels [49] The nobles, feudal lords and wealthy men of the society practised polygamy Their status was determined by the number of wives they possessed The common people were generally monogamous though polygamy was not unknown to them Jats, minas and gujars of the lower order practised polygamy Various reasons have been assigned for its origin The barrenness of a wife or

her failure to give birth to a son was generally the reason for taking a second wife Leviratic alliances[50] popularly known as Dhareecha among the Jats by which the widow was required to marry the deceased husband's younger brother also led in many cases to polygamy

Maharaja Jey Singh of Alwar had four wives[51] In order to strengthen his political power Badan Singh of Bharatpur entered into marriage alliances with the heads of the various groups of families It is said that Badan Singh had 150 women of all castes and tribes in his harem[52] Surajmal of Bharatpur had five sons and of these the first two were by a wife of the Koormi tribe, the third was by a wife of the Malin or horticultural class while the others were by Jatni s or women of his own race[53] Ram Singh, a corrupt and voluptous Chief of Bharatpur had a number of wives His son Kishan Singh was born of his second wife Girraj Kaur[54] Maharaja Bhanwar Pal of Karauli had six wives[55] *Similarly*, Bhom Pal *married* thrice[56] Ganesh Pal, had two wives In polygamous households there were possibilities of rivalry, intrigues and jealousy The first wife, however consoled herself, if she had male children, that she was entitled to the first place besides her husband at the family rites The Nazars or eunuchs were employed as attendants of the harem or Zenani Deodhi which was under the charge of the Home Minister

The Eastern Rajputana States Political Conference at its session in Dholpur on August 22 1940 urged the rulers of Eastern Rajputana States to abolish the 'pernicious custom of purdah, child marriage and the evils of drink and polygamy'[57] In spite of sincere efforts of the social organisations the institution continued to exist among the nobles feudal lords and certain communities of the Eastern Rajputana States

Dhareecha

Leviratic alliances or Dhareecha occurred among the Jats of Eastern Rajputana Under such an alliance the widow was expected to marry her late husband's younger brother

If the widow was unwilling to do so and married some other man, the latter had to pay compensation to the younger brother of the deceased husband

Nata

Under the custom called Nata the widow who desired to remarry went to her father's house and the person seeking her hand was required to make payment The Nata fee varied according to the social status of the Natamaker Her late husband's parents had nothing to do in the matter But the clothes, ornaments and children, if any of the deceased husband were given to them. This practice was prevalent among the lower castes of Eastern Rajputana States

Widow Marriage

In general there had been a practice that a widow could not marry This rule applied so strictly in the upper classes that it debarred even girls who had become widow in young age from marrying again In those families which adhered to this practice the lot of a widow was very hard, She was, to all intents and purposes, an ascetic [58] sleeping on the ground and eating only one simple meal a day, without butter, wine or meat, wearing no ornaments or coloured garments and using no perfumes A widow was inauspicious to everyone but her own children She could not attend family festivals for she would bring bad luck to all present She was closely watched by her parents and relatives of her late husband lest she should break her vows and imperil the dead man s spiritual welfare

All evidences, however, show that the remarriage of widows was fairly common among the Hindus of lower order such as chamars, minas, ahirs, kumhars and kolis It was of course not prevalent among the rajputs brahmins and kayas thas of the Eastern Rajputana States

Infant Marriage

Infant marriages prevailed in almost all the States of Rajputana Various reasons have been assigned for its growth

Some held the declining security of the people of Rajputana in the middle ages to be a cause of its growth Risley believed that the custom was due 'primarily to hypergamy which by limiting the choice of bridegrooms, impels parents to marry off their girls at the earliest age possible' [59] Gait regarded infant marriage as 'a device to guard against pre marital commu nism '[60] Nesfield believed that the practice arose from the desire to protect a girl from the stain of communism within her clan so long as she remained there, and from the risk of forcible abduction into an alien clan where she became the wife slave of the man who captured her [61] Some have suggested that the fear of 'marauding Musl ms'[62] forced the parents to marry their daughters in childhood It might also in part be due to the 'growing religious insistence on the necessity of progeny [63] From the point of view of her parents a daughter was a 'serious economic liability' [64] and this might have encouraged the custom

Various efforts were made by the Rulers of Eastern Raj putana States to eradicate this custom The Karauli State Reforms Act, 1939 prohibited child marriages and restricted the expenditure on marriages The Alwar State Act Controlling Expenditure on Marriage and Funeral Ceremonies 1923 eleva ted to a great extent the status of common people especially women Similarly the Bharatpur State Social Reforms Act, 1941 eradicated these evils In 1940 41, the Bharatpur Central Advisory Committee passed two resolutions [65] (i) It raised the minimum marriageable age from 16 to 17 years and (ii) In order to avoid wide disparity of age between husbands and wives marriages between men over 45 with girls below 17 years *were prohibited*

The Walterkrit Rajputra Hitkarini Sabha also did a great service to the cause of female conditions It fixed the minimum age for marriage at 18 for a boy and 14 for a girl The e rules though primarily applied to the rajputs and charans were adopted by other castes also

Divorce

Divorce was commonly practised by the Meenas Jats, Gujars Ahirs Malis and Sudra communities of Eastern Raj putana Though divorce was common in Hindu society there was no law which legalised it until the Hindu Marriage Act 1955 was passed This Act included provisions for divorce

Such was the nature of political and social institutions in the Eastern Rajputana States The feudalistic pattern of society, concentration of power in few hands, division of society into haves and havenots the presence of royal appendages, etiquettes and grandeur in a backward society led to dissatisfaction in the Native States The royal vices spread gradually to the nobles and the richer classes and undermined the vigour which had been the proudest asset of society in the past The social customs and evils like begar, slavery, female infanticide, polygamy and infant marriage to a great extent retarded the socio economic progress of the society and especially of women folk Thus, in spite of the reforms and administrative innovations in the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli the traditional evils of feudal society could not be up rooted

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Administrative Development of Alwar

One cannot deny that history provides examples of mon archs who abused their power and influence but the same history provides instances of democracies having become means of oppression in the hands of ambitious dictators Every form of government has its demerits Any government, whether it is monarchy or democracy, can conduce to the welfare of the people in proportion to the spirit of co operation between the governors and the governed It is in this context that the administrative machinery of the erstwhile States of Eastern Rajputana has been studied For a better appreciation of the position and powers of the Rulers the subject has been divided into two compartments Ruler and his prerogatives, and Ruler as the Head of State

Ruler and his Prerogatives

Rulers of the Native States had a fancy for lofty magnifi cent and luxurious palaces in the State capital, at hill stations and in Europe where they used to go for health purposes This developed the architect all right but was a heavy drain on the finances of the State at the co t of economic betterment of the people The affairs that demanded the ruler s attention within the palace precincts were many but were generally neglected They spent most of their time in living a luxurious life or in rushing to big cities for purchasing the latest fleets of motor cars and curios There were visits to hill stations and shikar expeditions A great many of the princes are not to be seen in their palaces They are to be seen anywhere where enjoy ment can be bought with their people s money You go to London, you go to Paris you go to all fashionable cities and you meet some Indian Rajah or other, dazzling the people of

Furope and corrupting those who go near him' [1] On the other hand, they were kind and courteous in manners, 'often dignified and often commanding, sometimes quaint and undignified, taking pride and interest in their armies, sometimes ready to remove a dishonest official and bastinado him' [2] Some of the princes lived among their subjects like a father among his children

The Chief was the head of administration and the affairs of the state were conducted with the help of a Council under his presidency The Council was purely a consultative body Its members were appointed by the ruler and held their offices during his pleasure The ruler had an absolute authority in the matters of internal administration subject, of course, to the over-riding powers of British paramountcy

The ruler being the head was above the laws of the state He was the fountain of justice and could punish, banish or torture any per on of his state without any care for justice and enquity He had the privilege of setting prisoners free on occasions of anniversary of his accession, marriage or birth of a son

He could grant, alienate or confiscate the land of jagirdars Succession to a jagir required his recognition and for it the successor was required to give Nazarana to the Chief He was also free to confiscate the lands given for religious purposes

The powers of appointment promotion, dismissal, transfer and demotion were vested in him The employees were respon sible to the Chief in person He was free to award titles and honours to his loyal nobles thakurs zamindars and the employees of the state

There was no limit to privy purse and the Chief had the privilege of spending any amount of public money on his plea sures and luxuries In the forties, of course, the privy purse of the rulers of Alwar and Bharatpur was fixed at the maximum of 10 per cent of the total revenues of the state

He had the privilege of hunting wild animals in state

forests Some forests called reserved or game preserves were kept for royal hunting only

Further, it was recognised by the British Government that an Indian Prince could not be sued in a court of British India without the prior sanction of the Governor general in Council whether the suit was brought against him in his sovereign capacity or in private capacity as a trustee of public institutions in the state[3] This judicial immunity of course, did not render him unaccountable for his personal acts

The ruler had a free hand in adopting a child on the failure of natural heir according to Hindu Law and customs of the ruling family The Government of course, was to recognise and confirm such adoption This was done as long as the ruling house remained loyal to the Crown and faithful to the condi tions of the treaties grants or engagements and obligations to the British Government The Chief enjoyed the privilege of a salute of guns[4]

The Darbar had a right to grant, stop suspend, reduce or in any way alter a Khanpan allowance This right was ordinarily not exercised by a minority administraton whose policy used to be of the least possible interference with the orders passed by a full powered ruler

Estates and Jagirs—their role in State Administration

The internal economy of a rajput state was based on feudal system The lands were for the most part divided and inherited among the branch families of the ruling clan Some estates were held by the families of a different clan under some settlement and others were granted by the Chief to those who had rendered personal services to the state or to the Chief Jagirdars in native states had a tendency to become virtual proprietors especially where their original settlement was due to their own bravery, or where they had by their own exertions protected their estates from danger Indeed as the Chief often claimed in native states to be the sole proprietor of the land in fiscal villages, he could not consistently deny the Jagirdar s

proprietory title in his villages[5] An estate owned and inherited by a Jagirdar was in a way the State in miniature

In Alwar the Jagirs were of three kinds Jagir proper, Jaidad and Baradari[6] Jagir proper was held on feudal tenure subject to the obligation of supplying horsemen for state service while Jaidad holder was not required to offer any service Baradari Jagir was granted to a person of lower position and was required to supply foot soldiers The Jagirdars however, were liable to pay a cess called Abwab to the state There was a custom of realising Matampursi Nazarana on the sanction of mutation in favour of the successor of a deceased Jagirdar Jagirdars exempted from the payment of Matampursi Nazarana were required to present a horse if the ruler paid a condolence visit to the estate The jagirs, in cases of disputed succession, minority, and indebtedness were placed under the control of the Court of Wards

On October 10, 1945 the horse services were commuted into cash Accordingly, the Jagirdars were free to opt for payment at the rate of Rs 160/ per horse per annum or 60 per cent of their Jagir income[7] Of this amount Rs 40/ per horse were to be credited in the Education Fund

The total number of Jagirs, the number of villages under them number of service horses and annual receipts from them during the different years were as under

Year	Number of Jagirs	Number of villages	Number of service horses	Receipts Rs
1896-97	128	$201\frac{1}{8}$	876	22,559
1917 18	130	$204\frac{1}{8}$	904	31 915
1926-27	130	$204\frac{1}{8}$	945	47 147
1943 44	139	218	965	40 367
1944-45	1?9	218	965	40 143
1945-46	138	217	963	37,341

Jagirs in possession of different clans, the number of horses that each class of Jagir was required to maintain and produce for service were[8]

The institution of the State Council which conducted the affairs of administration continued to exist till 1940 On March 1, 1941 Maharaja Tej Singh constituted an Executive Council to look after the administration of the State [14] The Gazette Extraordinary of February 26, 1941 laid down

"The administration of the State will be conducted by us with the assistance of the Executive Council

We shall be the President of the Council and the other members of the Council will be Ministers whose number will be fixed by us and will be appointed by us The Prime Minister will be the Vice President We may also appoint another member of the Council or the senior member

The allocation of the departments of the State and the portfolios of Ministers shall be in accordance with the orders promulgated by us from time to time

All orders passed by the Council in exercise of the powers *delegated to it under or in accordance with the business* rules shall be deemed to be orders of our Government and shall be issued in the name of our Government and shall be authenticated in a form prescribed in such rules [15]

The Gazette further laid down that 'nothing in this order shall in any way modify or detract from our inherent power to confirm, revise or alter, amend or annul any order of the Council or to issue any commands independently [16] This clearly indicates that the final executive authority vested in the Maharaja

For administrative purposes the State was divided into two districts, namely, the northern and the southern The northern district consisted of the Nizamats of Alwar, Behror, Mandawar, Kishangarh and Tijara The southern district included Bansur, Ramgarh, Lachmangarh, Rajgarh and Thana Ghazi Nizamats

Legislature

Law is the will of the people and legislation is an articulate expression of its intelligent population But there was

no representative assembly in the state and the laws were virtually the arbitrary orders of the Ruler All the legislative functions were centred in the Ruler The Ruler was empowered to adopt, enact and execute the laws of the state In short, the laws were nothing better than the decrees of the Ruler

In Alwar like other Indian States the British Indian laws were adopted with modifications as the Rulers deemed fit These laws, of course were not binding on the Ruler He could repeal amend and suspend them and deprive any man of his liberty commit him to prison for an indefinite period and banish him from his birth place without any reason, charge or trial In state there was no freedom of speech, press and public meetings [17] The Alwar State Sedition Law was in force and in accordance with 'a meeting of more than five persons shall be presumed to be a public meeting within the meaning of this Act, until contrary is proved No public meeting shall be held for the discussion of any political subjects or for the exhibition and distribution of any written or printed matter relating to any such subjects At any public meeting no such subjects shall be discussed or preached which are likely to do anything which may be contrary to the interests of the Alwar State its Government, its Ruler, its Sovereign, or against the interests of His Majesty the King Emperor of India, his Government or against the interests of any other ruling Prince of India [18]

In 1903 there were hardly three or four laws on the statute book which were gradually added and increased to over 200 by 1945 46 The Legal Remembrancer s Office was constituted for the first time on October 1, 1943 Its main functions were drafting of legi lation examination of the existing laws advising State officers on matters relating to law and procedure, and filing of government appeals

There had been a demand for a responsible government in the state since the thirtees but the Rulers had been evading it However because of the mounting pressure of the Alwar

In March 1948, the State was integrated to form the Matsya Union and as such the aspirations of the people to establish a representative assembly remained unfulfilled

Judiciary

Prior to 1857 there was arbitrary and uncontrolled rule of the Ruler His words were verdicts People were arrested, tortured without charge or trial and confined indefinitely *Arbitrary confiscation of property and banishment of scores of* people were common things With the lapse of time and the impact of the British rule the codes of British India were adopted with necessary modifications

The State Council was the highest court which when presided over by the Maharaja, was empowered to pass death sentences subject to the revisionary authority of the Political Agent [26] Below the State Council was the Court of the District and Sessions Judge The Court heard appeals against the decisions of the Faujdar and the Civil Judge The Faujdar with magisterial powers of Class I was on the criminal side The Civil Judge was empowered to decide suits of below Rs 2000/ in value These two officers heard appeals against the decisions of the Courts of Tehsildar and the Assistant Civil Judge respectively The lowest court was of Tehsildar who had powers of a Magistrate of Cla s III on criminal side and empowered to try civil suits up to the value of Rs 100/ In Alwar city, the Bench of Honorary Magistrates and the Assistant Civil Judge had the same powers criminal and civil respectively as that of the Tehsildar

In 1918 19 the civil courts were reorganised and the following courts were formed

Civil Judge s Court—The court decided cases pertaining to money transactions exceeding Rs 200/ but under Rs 3000/ and to landed property and rights connected therewith the value of which was above Rs 50/ but below Rs 3000/ Appeals against the decisions of Tehsildar were also tried by this court Decisions given on the appellate side in suits not exceeding Rs 100/ in value were final and non appealable

Assistant Civil Judge's Court—The court tried suits up to the value of Rs 200/ and cases of landed property and rights up to the value of Rs 50/

Additional Civil Judge s Court—Suits filed in the capi al were heard by this court The court exercised the same powers as of the Assistant Civil Judge s Court

Judicial set up was again reorganised in 1927 28 and the new set up was as under

High Court—It was established for the first time in the State on June 28 1928 Its jurisdiction was subject to the provision of section 25 of the Alwar High Court Regulation of 1941, and exercised original civil and criminal jurisdiction under section 10 of the Regulation Gazette Extraordinary of 1941 laid down that in the cases in which the subject matter of dispute was over Rs 10 000/- in value or in those of sentences of death or imprisonment of ten years or more, the decrees or judgments passed by the High Court shall go to the Maharaja on appeal [27] There was a move in 1944 that a Privy Council[28] should be constituted in the State to hear appeals against the judgments of the Alwar High Court, but the scheme could not be implemented till the accession of the State to the Indian Dominion

District and Sessions Court—Below the High Court there was the Court of the District and Sessions Judge It heard appeals of civil, criminal and insolvency cases against the decisions of the subordinate courts Court had original juris diction in civil cases the subject matter of which exceeded Rs 3,000/ in value The Judge was also an ex officio Commis sioner of Workmen's Compensation[29] for the entire State under section 20 of the Alwar State Workmen s Compensation Act 1946

Civil Subordinate Courts

(*i*) *Munsif Magistrate's Court*—Below the District and Sessions Judge s Court there were the courts of Munsif Magis trates They were all Magistrates of Cla s I and on the civil

side their jurisdiction extended to suits up to the value of Rs 3 000/ They were invested with powers of original jurisdiction in cases under the Insolvency Act, the Succession Act and the Guardian and Wards Act up-to the value of Rs 3000/ There were six Munsif Courts with headquarters at Alwar, Rajgarh, Tijara Bansur, Bahror and Lachmangarh The Munsif's excepting that of Alwar, also exercised the powers of the Judge of the Small Cause Court and tried cases up-to the value of Rs 200/

(ii) Small Cause Court—Alwar town alone had this court which disposed of suits up-to Rs 200/ in value

Criminal Subordinate Courts

(i) District Magistrate's Court—There were two District Magistrate s Court in the State which exercised powers under section 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code

(ii) Magistrate's Court—There were 30 courts of Magistrates of Class I, II and III below the Sessions Court The Magistrate of class I enjoyed powers under sections 30 and 407(2) of the Criminal Procedure Code Some of the Magistrates of Class I were vested with summary powers under section 260 of the Criminal Procedure Code also

(iii) Nazim's Court—There was a Nazim s Court in each Nizamat of the State Out of 10 Nazim Courts, those at Bansur and Rajgarh exercised Magisterial powers of Class I, while others exercised the powers of Magistrate Class II

(iv) Naib Nazim s Court—Out of 13 such courts in the State, 8 exercised Magisterial powers of Class III and 5 of Class II

(v) Honorary Magistrate s Bench—There were two benches of Honorary Magistrates with powers of Magistrate Class III in Alwar city

Organisation of the Principal Departments
Land Revenue Department

The principal land tenures in the State were Khalsa, Istimarari, Jagir and Muafi [30] The Khalsa was the land paying

revenues directly to the State The Istimarardars were mostly Rajputs Their holdings were permanently assessed and were required to pay an additional cess of 3 per cent for dispensaries schools and roads Jagirs were of three kinds viz, Jagir proper Jaidad and Baradari Persons holding any of these Jagirs were liable to pay a cess called Abwab Muafi lands were granted to Rajputs for their maintenance to Kanungos as remuneration for services to Brahmins and Charans in charity and to temples for their upkeep Some Muafi holders were required to pay cess, while the majority were exempted from that

In the Khalsa area the tenures were Zamindari (held by a single owner), or joint Zamindari (held jointly by a body of owners) or Pattidari (held by shares, ancestral or customary), or Bhaiyachara (held without any reference to shares), or a combination of two or more of the said tenures[31] The status of the zamindar had long been recognised in Alwar, where the Darbar, though asserting his sovereign rights as the supreme owner, had always acknowledged a subordinate proprietory or Biswadari right of the members of the village community Under that each member or unit was entitled to occupy, and be protected in the occupation of the land in possession, so long as he cultivated and paid its rent to the State This right could pass to his successors by the ordinary right of succession and could be alienated by sale, gift or mortgage subject to the sanction of the Darbar

Prior to 1838 land revenue was levied in kind, the State claiming generally one-half of the gross produce, plus one thirteenth of the remainder as the expenses of collection The annual land revenue ranged from 12 to 14 lakh of rupees

The first summary settlement for three years was introduced by Captain Impey, Political Agent, in February 1859 raising the assessment by five per cent[32] It was followed by the second summary settlement for ten years raising the revenue by twenty per cent[33] and fixing the demand at Rs 17, 53 425/ A third summary settlement for four years was introduced by

the then Settlement Officer, Major P W Powlett in 1872 raising the assessment further by seven and a half per cent [34] The system of assessing villages with lump sums instead of each field was adopted

The first regular[35] assessment was made by Major P W Powlett in 1876 for a period of sixteen years It increased the assessment by six per cent, fixing the demand at Rs 20,19 777/- The settlement continued till 1900 Second regular settlement was introduced by Col M F O Dwyer, Settlement Officer Alwar and Bharatpur in 1900 for a period of twenty years It continued till 1923 The settlement fixed the annual total demand at Rs 20,73 486/ Dwyer s settlement 'imposed restric tions on alienation of proprietory and occupancy rights of agricultural land to the trading and money lending classes, while allowing for its free transfer among agricultural members of the village community in the first instance, and after them to other agriculturists [36] These rules checked expropriation of agriculturists by the money lending classes and thereby protec ted the zamindars Dwyer in his letter No 110 of March 28, 1899 to the Political Agent in Alwar, while commending rules of settlement wrote :

"I think the Alwar Darbar may now claim with pride that, while the rights of the zamindars are as freely recognised and as carefully protected as in British territory and are far more secure than in any Native State of which I have any knowledge It has at the same time provided safeguard against expropriation [37]

Another regular settlement for twenty years was carried out by Pt N L Tikko in 1923 with the total annual demand of Rs 29,39 112/ In May 1925 land measurement took place in Bansur and Thana Gazi nizamats and new taxes were imposed This was opposed by the Rajput cultivators of the Neemuchana village on the plea that the people were already over burdened and that there should not be any increase in the taxes [38] At the initial stage Maharaja Jey Singh did not pay any attention to the cultivator's demand, but when the

agitation began to spread, the Maharaja tried to suppress it with a heavy hand On May 14, 1925 the State troops surrou nded the village and opened fire on the peaceful agitators without any pre warning Even the womenfolk were not spared and they were humiliated and dishonoured It is believed that as a result of firing at least 353 huts were destro yed, 71 cattle head were burnt and property worth a lakh was looted away Besides, 95 persons were killed and more than 250 were wounded [59]

In 1935 F V Wylie, Prime Minister of Alwar, introduced revision of the third regular settlement and fixed the State revenue demand at Rs 23,40 066/

For the purposes of revenue administration the State was divided into two districts viz , Northern and Southern known as the Alwar and Rajgarh districts respectively The Alwar district consisted of five nizamats namely, Alwar, Tijara, Kishangarh Behror and Mandawar The Rajgarh district included the nizamats of Rajgarh, Bansur, Lachmangarh and Thana Ghazi Nizamat was further divided into parganas, each under a Kanungo The revenue department was under the charge of the Revenue Minister who was assisted by the Collectors of Alwar and Rajgarh districts The Nazim was the chief executive officer in the nizamat and was assisted by a Naib Nazim The Nazim was vested with the powers of an Assistant Collector of Class I on the revenue side and of the Magistrate of Class II on the criminal side All the Nazims of the ten nizamats were under the direct control of the Revenue Minister

For maintaining and preparing the land records there existed the staff of Office Kanungos Field Kanungos and Patwaries The District Kanungo was the head of the land revenue ministerial staff and was responsible to the Nazim of the nizamat Each Kanungo was required to maintain village revenue papers called Muazinas meaning weighing or estima ting These documents were prepared after careful survey of each village and indicated the revenue for each year The

change in the limits of parganas were recorded from time to time in his office Collection of land revenue was chiefly the business of Patwaries

More than 80 per cent of the total area of the State was Khalsa Following statement shows the number of villages and their classification in the State

Year	Khalsa villages	Reserved Forest villages	Jagir villages	Muafi villages	Istimarari villages	Total
1938 39	1465	61	211	108	7	1852
1939 40	1466	61	210	108	7	1852
1940-41	1468	54	212½	111	7½	1853
1943 44	1477	48	215½	110	7½	1858
1944-45	1465½	52	223½	109½	7½	1858
1945 46	1466½	52	222½	109½	7½	1858

Statement shows the total cultivated area in bighas in the State total revenue demand and the collections thereof

Year	Cultivated area in bighas	Revenue demand Rs	Revenue collections Rs	Percentage of collection on demand
1938-39	13 71 683	22 02 575	19 37 436	99 5
1939-40	13 54 892	21 99 782	18 31 232	98 7
1940-41	13 91 595	21 97 053	20 66 043	98 75
1943-44	14 69 511	21 99 255	21 84 400	99 79
1944-45	14 54 235	21 99 085	21 93 517	99 95
1945-46	14 43 253	21 74 314	21 70 738	99 92

Police Department

Though not well organised the police administration in the State in the nineteenth century was satisfactory It was under the control of the Magistrates of respective districts On April 1, 1895 the department was separated from judiciary and A D Collis, then Inspector of Police, Ajmer Merwara was appointed as the Superintendent of Police [40] Rules and regulations for the guidance of the Alwar Police were framed and introduced in 1896 The Department was reorganised by Tomkins in 1903 which increased the efficiency of the police To quote Tomkins efficiency and discipline of the Alwar force was superior to that of the neighbouring districts [41]

In 1917-18 some reforms were introduced in the department A system of holding half yearly examination of Thanedars and annual examination of Sergeants and Constables was introduced to keep up their knowledge of law and procedure up to date [42] A school was also opened at Alwar to instruct the recruits in police and law duties In 1918 19 a system of good conduct allowance[43] for police officials was introduced which proved very useful in imbibing in them a true spirit of service The Manual of Police Rules[44] was introduced from May 1, 1928 Later on the principles of competition and preference to bonafide residents of the State were made the guiding lines for recruitment of Inspectors and Sub Inspectors

There was also Village Police called Village Chowkidar in every village of the State The Village Chowkidar was appointed by the Central Police Office on the suggestion of the Lambardar and was paid salary from the amount realised for the purpose from the villagers along with the land revenue The Alwar State Amended Village Chowk dara Act, 1928 enforced from December 1, 1928 laid down the duties of a Chowkidar

1 He was to report at once to the Thana concerned—(a) all cognizable offences, attempts and abetments of the same and unnatural, accidental or suspicious deaths, (b) the movements of bad characters and of the criminal tribes (c) any damage to the State property or any fact likely to disturb the public peace

2 He was to arrest military and police deserters escaped prisoners, proclaimed offenders and persons who were reasonably suspected of having committed a cognizable offence and non bailable offence. He was to take such accused to the Thana

3 He was to perform the duties of watch and ward and make rounds in the village or villages in his charge during night hours

4 He was to assist the police in the investigation of offence, in the arrest of offenders and in recovering stolen property

5 He was required to attend the Thana once a week on a fixed day

6 He was supposed to obey all lawful orders of a Lambardar

A Chowkidar found guilty of any violation of duty or wilful breach or neglect of any rule or regulation or lawful order of a competent authority or who remained absent from the duty without permission of the Central Police Office or who offered any personal violence to any person in his custody was liable to dismissal, suspension or confinement in barrack up-to 15 days by the Inspector General of police Such orders of punishment were appealable The Magistrate on finding a Chowkidar guilty of an offence was empowered to sentence for imprisonment for a term not exceeding 3 months or fine not exceeding Rs 50/ or both There were 2000 village Chowki dars in the State in 1945 46

As regards the organisation of the department, the Ins pector General of Police was at the apex and below him were Deputy Inspector General of Police Inspectors, Sub Inspectors, Sergeants, Head Constables and Constables The Inspector General of Police was empowered to appoint Inspectors and Sub Inspectors on probation of one year subject to confirmation by His Highness He was also authorised to transfer officer in charge of police stations subject to confirmation by the Maharaja

For the purposes of police administration the State was divided into two districts—Northern and Southern The nor thern district had 9 police stations and 12 police posts while the southern district had 10 police stations and 16 police posts Each police station was under the charge of a Sub Inspector

Education Department

The Education Department of the State was regarded by

the Princes as a useless burden which they were forced to carry for the purposes of advertisement and show They had no interest in educating the people For them, education 'produces people who are a menace and a pestilence that must be avoided at all costs '[45] Such was the conception of the Rulers of the Native States about education

In view of the historic resolution of Lord William Bentinck of March 7, 1835 for the promotion of English education alone, a school was opened at Alwar by Maharaja Banni Singh This school was the second English teaching school in Rajputana, the first being at Ajmer [46] Munshi Ummed Singh, a tutor of the Maharaja, was the first teacher in the school to teach English The progress of education in the State was so steady that the Political Agent in 1867 reported that education is 'more generally diffused throughout Alwar than Jaipur '[47]

According to the Census of 1901 the State stood twelveth in literacy in Rajputana with 2 7 per cent being able to read and write In 1941, the percentage of literacy rose to 5 per cent [48] The schools were either state aided or private For the maintenance of state aided schools, a school cess of one per cent was collected on land revenue This Education Fund was instituted by Maharaja Sheodan Singh and was primarily spent on Halkabandi (village) schools Earlier education was imparted free of cost to all classes in the State but after 1938 fees were charged from the students of the senior classes

In 1929 Maharaja Jey Singh introduced certain reforms in the education department Religious education was introduced for Hindu and Muslim students as a part of their curriculum throughout the State, and military training for the students of Noble's School with a view to preparing them as cadets for State units [49] A number of girl s schools were also opened in the State

In 1930 Raj Rishi College was opened at Alwar as an intermediate college, affiliated to the Board of High School and Intermediate Education, Rajputana Central India and Gwalior In July 1945 it was raised to the status of degree college

and affiliated to the Agra University for the examinations of B A and B Com

There was a general discontentment among the Muslims of the State because of the State's education policy The Muslims had demanded that there should be no restrictions on the teaching of the Quran and that Urdu should be made the medium of instruction in the State[50] With these demands, a Muslim agitation started in May 1932 The Maharaja, however, maintained that 'there was no truth whatsoever in the Muslim agitation'[51] But the agitation did not remain confined to Alwar State it indeed began to spread in the adjoining British territories also The situation became serious when the Meos of Gurgaon and Rohtak began to send 'Jethas' in Alwar to press the Muslim demands They demanded the British intervention also[52] Meanwhile they took direct action by firing shots at officials and damaging the public property Thereupon the Maharaja requested the British Government for military assistance to suppress the Meo agitation The British Government immediately reacted and on January 9, 1933 the troops were sent to Alwar[53] The agitation was crushed and law and order was re established The British Government thereafter pursuaded the Maharaja to appoint a British Officer as his Revenue Minister and another British Officer as Inspector General of Police in the State The Maharaja reluctantly agreed to the proposal

In February 1946 Maharaja Tej Singh ordered for (i) the setting apart of a sum of Rs 40/ per horse for the education of the Jagirdars of the State out of Rs 160/ per horse This was to be utilised for Shri Pratap Cadet Corps and credited to the Education Fund, (ii) levying of an additional amount of Rs 5/ per horse from the Jagirdars towards the Education Fund, (iii) crediting 20% of the amount realised from the Jagirdars towards the Education Fund

The department was under the charge of the Director of Education who was assisted in his work by Inspectors of schools

The Directorate was to frame rules and regulations for admission, fees, syllabus, recruitment of teachers and their service conditions For the purposes of secondary and primary education, the State was divided into four circles, each under an Inspector The number of schools, students and teachers in the State and the expenditure thereon had been as under

Year	Total No of schools	Total students	Total teachers	Expenditure Rs
1873 74	92	3403	119	26 587
1875 76	107	3716	142	36 919
1894 95	116	5363	214	43 908
1906 07	95	4891	199	30 254
1912 13	94	4409	179	58 732
1938 39	187	14909	440	2 25 596
1939 40	185	15495	491	2 39 815
1944 45	211	16604	480	3 78 103
1945 46	229	17372	607	4 74 824

Public Works Department

The Public Works Department was under the supervision and control of the Chief Engineer who was assisted by the Assistant Engineers For smooth and efficient working of the department the State was divided into two zones viz , north and south zone Assistant engineers looked after the works connected with roads, buildings, irrigation and electricity in their respective zones Under these officials there were a number of overseers The department maintained 189 miles of metalled, 390 miles of motorable unmetalled and nearly 1000 miles of village cart roads It also maintained the buildings of the college, schools, courts hospitals, palaces and guest houses The dams numbering about 150 in the State were also looked after by the department

The administration of the erstwhile Alwar State presented a spectacle in which one could see most of the elements of mediaevalism In the discharge of his duties the Ruler was surrounded by a swarm of sycophantic courtiers Concerned with nothing beyond their advancement, the courtiers contrived to prevent the people from approaching the Ruler with request for the redress of their grievances They were clever enough

to trade on the Ruler's indolence and tried to capture all the responsible positions through their friends and relatives They also tried to close the Ruler s eyes to all signs of discontent in the State and any citizen who tried to get a hearing for discontent and distress was branded as a source of mischief and danger in the eyes of the Ruler With the result, no large questions of policy, domestic or foreign, ever worried the delicate fabric of the Ruler's mind [54]

Theoretically, the State was sovereign and autonomous in the matters of internal administration It managed the internal affairs by making and administering its own laws, and imposing, collecting and spending its own taxes The Ruler had *a dominating voice in State administration He was* assisted by a nominated Council of State, which worked under his direct control The Council was purely a consultative body whose decisions were not binding on the Ruler The British Government on its part had agreed 'not to interfere in the country of Maha Rao Raja' by the treaty of November 14, 1803 But the State lost its autonomy by a gradual change in the policy pursued by the British Government Besides 'active administrators and Political Agents had a fascinating temptation to reduce the enfeebled Rulers to further dependence [55]

In Alwar there was no freedom of speech, press and public meetings The provision in the Alwar State Sedition Law denied the right of holding public meetings Public thus had no opportunity to express their sentiments and redress their grievances Speaking about the pitiable conditions of the sub jects of the Native States Josiah C Wedgwood said "The ruling Chief want no change, the British bureaucracy want no change the Indian nationalist turn away his eyes, statesmen in England put Safety first', and Labour Party and British democracy do not know that millions of their fellow subjects have no rights to person and property in that mysterious patch of the ever mysterious East '[56] Legislative assembly in Alwar State in its modern connotation was altogether non existent Legislative functions centred in the Ruler and his Council and

the laws framed for the subjects were not applicable to him There were, of course, departments like Revenue, Police, Education, Public Works, Jail etc but they were not systematically organised

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Administrative Development of Bharatpur

The administration of the State was carried on in the name of the Ruler who was head of both the State and the Government and as such enjoyed a number of prerogatives The prerogatives were more or less the same as discussed in the preceding chapter

Estates and Jagirs—their role in State administration

In Bharatpur the origin of the Jagir system dates back to the early years of the eighteenth century when Badan Singh and Suraj Mal stood in need of the strong arms and services of their kinsmen for the defence and expansion of the State [1] Loyal supporters were liberally rewarded for their services by grant of Jagirs As the State expanded and more fighting men were required, so did the grants The grantees in their turn distributed among their kinsmen the land and obligations Shares in estates were measured by the number of guns that the holder was required to supply In case he refused or failed to join the services, when required, he had to pay a penalty of Rs 5/ per month per gun, this being the usual pay of a soldier at that time to enable substitutes to be recruited This system of penalty was introduced by Jawahar Singh at the time of his famous raid on Delhi [2] When the boundaries of the State ceased to expand the Rulers began to cast a jealous eye on these grants and set themselves to the task of reducing the status and curbing the powers of the Jagirdars During the reign of Balwant Singh most of the Jagirs were annexed on trivial pretexts and subsituted by cash payments in the form of pension

The number of Jagirs was comparatively very small in the State There were petty 17 Jagirs holding 28 villages.

The important Jagir, however, was of Ballabhgarh with an area of 23 square miles covering 14 villages An approach to a feudal system, which was common in other States of Rajputana, did not prevail in Bharatpur[4] The Jagirdars had no legal jurisdiction in their estates and paid no tribute or revenue to the State Though the Jagirs were hereditary but their holders did not possess the right of adoption without the sanction of the Darbar Even in case of ordinary succession the approval of the Chief was necessary The zamindars and ryots under the Jagirdars held the same position as under the Khalsa The Jagirdars were not empowered to dispossess the hereditary zamindar without fault, and could not increase the rent over the settlement

Ruler As The Head of State Administration

The Jat Rulers apart from being 'stalwart fighters and builders of strong forts and noble palaces[5] were efficient administrators Suraj Mal Jaswant Singh and Kishan Singh were known for their efficient administration It was in the reign of Suraj Mal that Bharatpur reached the zenith of its glory[6] Jaswant Singh 'was a strong, sagacious and energetic Ruler With the benefit of good education, he thoroughly understood the details of administration and dealt with every problem competently and firmly His decisions were, as a rule just and equitable His knowledge of the State and its people was unusually extensive[7] Kishan Singh was 'a model Prince of India, a benevolent Ruler to his subjects and a devoted feudatory to the Imperial Government'[8]

Executive

The administration of the State was conducted in the name of the Ruler As head of the government he was empowered to appoint dismiss promote and transfer the State officials including the members of the Council The appointments were made by him on the basis of suitability or favour and not on heredity The administration was carried on by the Council of State Each member of the Council was in

charge of a number of departments and disposed of the tasks assigned to him according to existing rules The Ijlas Khas with the Chief as its President exercised general control on the working of the Council of State

The Council of State

The Constitution of the Council of State was drafted in 1930 Its vernacular name was Mahakma Khas[9] The Council consisted of the President and four members Its members were appointed by His Highness with the approval of the Agent to the Governor General[10] The Council ordinarily met once a week, and to form a quorum at any meeting the presence of at least two members besides the President was required The business of the meeting was taken up in order in which it was entered into the agenda unless the President otherwise directed All matters placed before the Council were ordinarily decided by majority The President however, had a right to veto any decision of the Council But such cases were referred to the Political Agent[11] Cases for the decision of the Council were either brought up by the President or member concerned The general working of the Council was under the control of the President, who was empowered to act on behalf of the Council in case of urgency He could also frame rules for the disposal of business in Council

Powers and functions of the Council of State

All cases enumerated in Schedule II of the constitution were referred to the Council for decision before final orders were passed, save as provided in Rule 10[12] Matters requiring reference to the Council[13] were as under

1 (a) Sanction to non recurring expenditure exceeding Rs 5000/ within the budget allotment

(b) Sanction to recurring expenditure involving charges exceeding Rs 1000/ per annum.

(c) Sanction to expenditure exceeding budget provision of Rs 1000/ or more

2 Power to sanction expenditure of a non recurring nature within budget allotment under any particular head up to a maximum of Rs 500/ in each case and power to sanction reappropriation up-to a maximum of Rs 500/ within the limit of the budget of any department

3 Power, subject to the rules and regulations in force in the State, to dispose of all ordinary matters of administration and discipline arising within the department other than those requiring reference to the Council or the President

4 (a) Power to grant remission up to Rs 100/ in each case of suspension or arrears of revenue from season to another up to Rs 500/ in each case (b) Power to sanction refunds within his jurisdiction up to Rs 100/

5 Power of sanctioning leases of Nazool lands houses etc carrying rent not exceeding Rs 50/ per annum as well as their relinquishment

6 Power of disposing of cases of unclaimed property without any limit of value

7 Power of ordering sale of unserviceable articles up to a limit of estimated value of Rs 50/

The Dewan or Prime Minister looked after the affairs of the State in the name of the Ruler He presided over the meetings of the Council and transacted the entire business of the State with the assistance of the Council Realising the growth of political awakening, the Mahraja on February 6, 1946, announced of the appointment of one popular minister in the Council of State, to be elected by majority on the basis of adult franchise Looking to the fast moving political move ment in the State, he declared in May 1946 that in future the *Council shall consist of a President (His Highness himself) a* Dewan as Vice President and five ministers of whom three were to be elected and two nominated [14] It was however, noted that the people were not happy with this declaration and a demand for much more representation was put forward Pressed by the political agitation for responsible government with

and were published both in English and Hindi Resolutions after being passed by the Committee were sent for approval of His Highness Sir Richard Tottenhem, President of the Council of State, while inaugurating the Committee on March 30, 1939 said

" as an administration which is genuinely anxious to work for the good of the people, we are all in favour of close association between those from whom the income of the State is derived, that is to say mainly the Zamindars of Bharatpur and those who have the duty of spending it for the common good, that is to say ourselves That is our main reason for creating this Central Advisory Committee For several years past we have been preparing the way for this step by widening the scope of our Tehsil Advisory Committees and encouraging them to deliberate and give their advice on various problems that arise Much will depend on your own interest and enthusiasm, but very briefly I want this Committee to be a medium for advice—advice from the Government of the State to the people, and advice from the people to the Government "[18]

In order to improve the conditions of the people the Central Advisory Committee in 1939 40 adopted some important resolutions, namely, appointment of a sub committee to make proposals for checking corruption in the State appointment of a sub committee to consider the expansion and acceleration of rural reconstruction work employment of bonafide residents of the State for service to make literacy universal within five years in the State and expansion of basic education in the State These resolutions were later on accepted by the Council of State Similarly, in 1940 41 the Committee passed resolutions, chiefly, establishment of an intermediate college in the State opening of more basic schools in the State, exemption from the payment of school fees by the sons of agriculturists expension of veterinary hospitals, raising of the marriageable age from 16 to 17 years and prohibition of marriage between men over 45 with girls below 17 The Council of State accepted these resolutions In view of the resolution an intermediate

college was opened in Bharatpur in 1941 Veterinary hospital was set up in Pahari in the same year Thus the Central Advisory Committee to a great extent helped in improving the socio-economic conditions of the people However the Committee could work for three years only as it failed to satisfy the masses who wanted full responsible government in the State

Brij-Jaya Pratinidhi Samiti

In 1942 the Government decided to constitute a Representative Assembly in Bharatpur This Assembly was to replace the Central Advisory Committee The Assembly was known as Brij Jaya Pratinidhi Samati [19] The decision to institute this Assembly was announced on October 22, 1942 and Maharaja Brijendra Singh on this occasion said

'The term of the Central Advisory Committee has come to an end During the last three years it has done much useful work. The time has come to take a further step on the path of constitutional progress I now propose to institute a Samiti to be known as Brij Jaya Pratinidhi Samiti with increased popular representation, enlarged powers and a broader basis of election

To start with, the Samiti will have a non official President nominated by me It will also have a Deputy President elected by the members themselves The Samiti will consist of 50 members of whom 37 will be elected and 13 nominated Each of the ten Tehsils will be represented by 3 elected members and the Municipalities and Town Boards will have 7 representatives Of the nominated members 6 will be officials and 7 will be nominated, in order primarily to represent interests which may not have adequate representation by election [20]

The Samiti had full and free right of interpellation on the floor of the house It was competent to pass resolutions on any matter of public interest except those concerning the ruling family, the relations with the Crown or other Indian States,

the State forces and the conduct of any Judge of the High Court in the discharge of his duties All legislative proposals, other than emergency legislation, were laid before the Samiti for its opinion The draft annual budget was submitted to the Samiti for discussion, excepting matters relating to the Privy Purse and the Army and its views were taken into consideration while framing the budget

The principal featuses of the Samiti were the absence of communal representation in any form, the predominance of elected members a method of election whereby rural constituencies were represented only by members from the rural areas the revival of village panchayats both as electoral and administrative units the extensive range of Assembly's functions, and above all the adoption of a device under which the elected Deputy President was empowered to attend certain meetings of the Council of State This brought the executive and the legislature into close touch and frequent contact with each other

The elections of the Samiti were held during the year 1942 43 Rai Bahadur Shiv Gopal Mathur, Puisne Judge was appointed President of the Samiti Maharaja Brijendra Singh in his inaugural speech of the session on October 4, 1943 said "You should all consider yourselves servants of the State and leave your political feelings and prejudices outside this hall and work with one heart with one aim to better the State and look to the interests of all communities and not any particular one whatever caste or association you may belong and always remember that you are advising the State as a body and not a particular association Only with your help and co-operation can I achieve the improvements and reforms which I have planned [22] On October 5, the election of Deputy President took place and Thakur Desraj was elected as Deputy President of the Samiti The Samiti held its first session from October 4 to 8

The Brij Jaya Pratinidhi Samiti in reality had no powers, because a large number of subjects were kept beyond its

domain The constitution of the Samiti laid down that it was competent to pass resolutions on any matters of interest, except 'concerning the ruling family, the relations with the Crown or other Indian States, the State forces, and the conduct of any judge of the High Court in discharge of his duties' Then there were certain subjects, which could be discussed in the Samiti, but its decisions were not necessarily binding The Ruler was the final determining authority

Further, the draft annual budget was to be placed before the Samiti for discussion, 'except matters relating to Privy Purse and the Army and its views were to be taken into consideration while finally framing the budget The members were not furnished with the details of the budget Similarly, those items of expenditure, which could be classed by the Government as political or which were utilised for suppressing the political movement, were kept out of its discussions[24] Thus a deliberate attempt was made to reduce the powers and scope of the Samiti, by confining to its cognizance only those matters which had a very limited bearing on the constitutional framework of the Government or the execution of significant policies

The second defect of the Samiti was that the Chief retained the right to nominate the President and 13 members of the Samiti Out of 13 nominated members 6 were to be officials and 7 non officials primarily to represent the interests which did not receive adequate representation by election The candidates who were defeated in election were nominated The Government also nominated such persons who were against the Praja Parishad This right of nomination made the Chief virtually a dictator and the nominated members remained only yesmen of the Government

Thirdly there was no relationship between the executive and the legislature The executive (Council of State) was not formed of the members of the legislature (Brij Jaya Pratinidhi Samiti) The Council was also not responsible to the Pratinidhi

Samiti This was against the spirit of parliamentary institutions The Praja Parishad in its resolution of November 25 1945 stated "Unbridled and irresponsibl bureaucracy has disdainfully refused to respect or even to take note of the popular representatives on the floor of the representative assembly set up under the 1942 settlement The small beginning in constitutional reforms granted by His Highness have been systematically set at naught by imperviousness of the bureaucrats to popular sentiment on one hand and deliberate flagrant violation of the provisions of the Assembly Act on the other, thus reducing the Assembly to a mere farcical puppet show [23]

On the credit side the contribution of the Samiti lay not so much in the actual work that it had been able to do but in the cultivation of political consciousness in moulding the sound public opinion and in the intellectual development of the people [24] The members were now free to express their views on intricate problems of administration There would not have developed the sense of appreciation and understanding to such a degree in such a short period if the Samiti had not come into existence This innovation also brought the execu tive and the legislature into close contact But the limitations and restrictions of the Samiti left the people discontented and agitation for responsible government led by the Bharatpur Rajya Praja Parishad, Kisan Sabha and the Hindu Sabha continued

Judiciary

About judicial administration Major Morrison in 1854 said that it was 'a system of expedience to support robbery and corruption' [25] Written decisions or appeals were almost un known However, the judicial administration was organised for the first time in 1855 during the reign of Jaswant Singh and the British India codes were adopted

For judicial purposes the State was divided into two divisions—the Northern and the Southern Each division was

under the jurisdiction of a Magistrate called Adalti For Bharatpur city there was a Civil Judge subordinate to the Magistrate of the division The Adaltis were appointed by the Political Agent of the State, but no legal qualification was in their case deemed necessary [26] In each paragana of the division there used to be a Tehsildar and Thanedar, the former had powers to imprison up-to three months and to impose fine up to Rs 10/-, while the latter was empowered to hold preliminary enquiries The appeal against the decision of the Tehsildar was made to the Magistrate of the division In criminal cases the Magistrate could imprison up to three years and impose fine up to Rs 50/ In civil cases his powers were unlimited The appeal against the decision of the Magistrate was heard by the State Council In a sentence of more than three years imprisonment, the confirmation by the Political Agent was necessary Beyond that all criminal cases were submitted to the Agent to the Governor General In civil cases an appeal beyond the sum of Rs 150/ was heard by the State Council whose decision up to Rs 300/ was final Above that an appeal up to Rs 1000/ lay to the Political Agent If the decisions of the Council and the Political Agent were similar in suits up to Rs 5000/ , they were considered as final, but in case of difference an appeal lay to the Agent to the Governor General But this sort of judicial set up was very defective The courts had no clear-cut demarcation of jurisdiction Most of the civil cases were submitted in appeal to the higher courts The judicial officers were almost illiterate, inefficient and corrupt So, to eradicate these defects the courts were reorganised and the powers of the various judicial officers were laid down in Judicial Circular No 4 of 1895 At the lowest level of the system there was a Tehsildar s court who was empowered to try civil suits up to the value of Rs 500/ and on the criminal side was entitled to imprison up to one month and fine up-to Rs 10/ Above it, was the Nazim s court Civil suits above the value of Rs 200/ were tried by him He had the Magisterial powers of Class I on the criminal side

Then there was a District and Sessions Court The court was empowered to hear second appeal from Tehsildar s and first from Nazim's On the criminal side the court could fine to any amount and *sentence imprisonment up to 10 years* Above it was the Dewan s Court empowered to hear appeals against the decisions of the District and Sessions Court The circular of 1895 was superseded by the Judicial Circular No 40 of 1912 Important changes effected by it were as under

Civil—The District and Sessions Judge who did not hear original cases so far was empowered to try cases above the value of Rs 500/ arising throughout the State He heard cases of succession also The said court formerly used to hear second appeals in cases decided by the Tehsildar and first appeals in cases decided by the Nazims Under new circular only such second appeals in cases decided by the Tehsildars and reversed or modified by the Nazims could go to the District and Sessions Judge The powers of the Nazim were also increased He was now empowered to hear appeals against the decisions of Tehsildars and Naib-Tehsildars The Bharatpur City Magistrate who had no civil powers so far was empowered to hear all civil suits up to the value of Rs 500/ arising within the limits of Bharatpur City Tehsildars who heard civil ca es up to Rs 200/ were now empowered to hear suits of the value between Rs 25/ and Rs 100/ The Naib Tehsildars were given powers of trying cases up to the value of Rs 25/ only

Criminal—The Nazims and District Magistrates who were formerly empowered to try cases as Magistrate of Class I as laid down in the Criminal Procedure Code Schedule 2 column 8 and could pass sentences up to two years imprisonment and fine up to Rs 1000/ were under the new circular granted ordinary powers of Magistrate of Class I as laid down in Civil Procedure Code as also in Criminal Procedure Code Schedule III(v) except Nos 2 3 4 15 and 16 The State Council continued to be the highest court of appeal in the State The Chief, of course, retained in his hands the powers of inflicting capital punishment

In 1932 the State Council revised the Judicial Circular No 40 of 1912 and laid down amended powers of the courts The Court of the Judicial Member under the control of the State Council was now the highest court of appeal for civil and criminal cases The Member exercised all the powers of High court as laid down in the Criminal Procedure Code He was empowered to call for records institute inquiry or fresh trial and could confirm modify or reverse the decision of the subordinote court [27] In appeals of death sentences passed by the Sessions Judge he was simply to hear and submit it to the State Council with his opinion Mercy petitions were submitted to the higher authority through the Political Agent Besides the State Council and the Judicial Member s court, the subordinate courts were assigned with the following powers

Civil—District Judge s Court was the highest court on civil side at the district level The judge was empowered to hear appeals against the decisions of the Nazim Civil suits above the value of Rs 1000/ could be heard by him in original Below him was the Nazim s Court Nazim had the powers of a Sub Judge of Class I and was empowered to hear suits up to the value of Rs 1000/ He could hear appeals against the decisions of the Munsif s Court Next was the Naib Nazim's Court empowered to try suits upto Rs 200/ in value Then there was the Tehsildar's Court with powers of Munsif Class I empowered to hear cases below Rs 100/ At the bot om was the Court of Naib Tehsildar who could hear suits upto the value of Rs 50/

Criminal—Sessions Judge exercised powers as laid down in Cr P C Death sentences given by him were to be submitted to the Judicial Member for confirmation He was empowered to hear appeals against the decisions of the Nazim Below him was the Nazim, who exercised powers of a Magi trate Class I and heard appeals of Magistrates Class II and III The Na b Nazim was given the powers of Magistrate Class II while the Tehsildar exercised the powers of Magistrate Class III

Judiciary was separated from the executive on August 1, 1942 when the High Court was set up on the lines of British India[28] The Court of the Judicial Member was abolished and the High Court was now made the highest judicial court of appeal in the State[29] Its judges were appointed and could be removed by the Maharaja, who, in this respect was guided by the advice of the Council

It exercised the power of general superintendence and control over all the subordinate courts and was empowered to inspect courts and to make recommendations thereon to the Maharaja It could call any suit pending in any subordinate court, and try it or refer it for trial to any other court compe tent to try the same It could frame or modify rules for the enrolment of pleaders and advocates, and without its permis sion, no person could plead in any civil, criminal and revenue court in the State

It was empowered to dispose of all appeals pending before the State Council or the Judicial Member[30] All appeals or revision proceedings of the value of Rs 1000/ or above were to be heard by a bench of two judges Similarly appeals or revision proceedings of criminal cases with sentences of death or imprisonment exceeding one year or fine exceeding Rs 500/- were to be heard by a bench of two judges In all other cases, unless otherwise directed by the Chief Justice, proceedings in the High Court were heard by the puisne judge sitting alone[31]

Organisation of the principal departments
Land Revenue Department

The land tenures were divided into Khalsa, Muafi and Istimrari, and the areas under these tenures were 87 6 11 8 and 0 6 per cent respectively of the total area of the State In Khalsa land the final right of ownership was vested in the State and the zamindars held a subordinate proprietory right as long as they paid the revenue The right being herditary could not be alienated without the approval of the State It could in no case be alienated to a non agriculturist The

Khalsa land was farmed out by the zamindars to the ryots, who were the actual cultivators The tenures between them were of two kinds namely, the tenant at will and lease holders [32] In former, the tenancy right was established by custom and the ryots were not evicted withrut default The leases were for short term of two to three years The ryots paid rent to the zamindars The Muafi lands were classified into, Punya (religious endowment on free rent), Inami (in lieu of military service on one forth rent) and Jagiri (hereditary land with no revenue demand) The Istimrari lands were held on fixed and permanent rent Water was supplied free to Khalsa land but on all other lands viz Jagirdari or Inami, a duty of one rupee per bigha was levied

The first summary settlement[33] for three years was made in 1854 56 and the demand on average collections of the last ten years was fixed at Rs 14 16 000/ The two subs quent settlements of 1859 and 1863 further raised the total demand to Rs 15,92,000/ and Rs 16 80 000/ respectively In 1869 Maharaja Jaswant Singh summarily raised the demand to Rs 18,58 000/ The ten year settlement of 1873 74 further increased the demand to Rs 20,16,584/ and thereby made an increase of about 20 per cent on the demand of the six year settlement of 1863 It was followed by another settlement for fifteen years in 1884 A complete assessment of the State was made this time and the demand was fixed at Rs 17,29 726/ per year

First regular settlement for a period of twenty years on the lines of the Punjab system was introduced in 1900 and fixed the demand at Rs 21 38 638/ [34] The period of settlement was extended on October 1 1919 and its operation continued till 1930 In November 1931, the first revised settlement was enforced while fixing the demand at Rs 21,15 561/ annually The second revi ed settlement of March 1938 made a reduction of Rs 50,000/ in the total demand of the settlement of 1900 This revised settlement introduced a series of improvements in the revenue system viz , abolition of Patwar Fund suspension,

of Abiana charges, introduction of definite rules for suspension and remission of land revenue and taccavi loans As the term of the revised settlement was fixed for twenty five years it con tinued to operate till the State acceded to the Union of India

For revenue purposes the State was divided into two circles of Bharatpur and Deeg The Bharatpur circle consisted of five tehsils namely, Bharatpur Bayana Nadbai, Rupbas and Weir The Deeg circle included the tehsils of Deeg, Kumher, Kaman, Pahari and Nagar Each circle was under the charge of a Deputy Collector and each tehsil under a Tehsildar and Naib Tehsildar The Patwaries and Lambar dars who were at the lowest cadre in the department were chiefly responsible for the collection of revenue The Deputy Collectors, Tehsildars and Naib Tehsildars possessed judicial powers to try cases relating to rights possession sale mortgage, redemption, lease, gift or exchange of land Cases upto the value of Rs 50/ were heard by the Naib Tehsildar, suits between Rs 50/ and Rs 200/ by the Tehsildar and of cases exceeding Rs 200/ in value by the Deputy Collector Appeal against the order of the Naib-Tehsildar was heard by the Deputy Collector, whose decision was final Appeal against the decision of the Tehsildar was also heard by the Deputy Collector and if the appellate authority reversed the decision of the lower court, his order was appealable to the Court of the Revenue Member, whose decision was final The appeal against the decision of the Deputy Collector, if the subject value exceeded Rs 200/, was heard by the Court of the Revenue Member If the Revenue Member reversed the decision of the Deputy Collector the case was submitted to other members of the Council of State whose unanimous decision was final Cases, in which there was difference of opinion among the members were sent to the Political Agent for final orders

Police Department

State police was not properly organised till the first half of the nineteenth century There were no rules regulations and

codes regarding the powers and duties of the police officials It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that the department was organised State police was classified into three categories namely, city police, tehsil police and rural police The city police organised on the lines of the British India police was under a Kotwal or Thanedar The tehsil police apart from the police duty was required to perform revenue functions also For each area yielding the revenue of one lakh, 100 tehsil constables and 2 jamadars were posted The rural police or the Village Chowkidar was under the control of Lambardar Its functions were varied and extended to report crimes, to arrest the offenders general aid of police, maintenance of watch over bad characters and suspicious persons, and the general supply of local information'[35] They were paid at the time of revenue collections from the dues realized from the villagers on that account Village Chowkidars were of two categories viz, Zimmewari Chowkidar and Reporter Chowkidar[36]

The department was systematically organised in 1910 and the Police Act of British India was adopted by the State In 1944 45 some changes were introduced in the police organisation The Superintendent of Police was designated as Inspector-General of Police A post of Deputy Superintendent of Police was created and the entire State was divided into 3 divisions, namely Bayana, Deeg and Bharatpur The divisions of Bayana and Deeg were under the charge of the Deputy Superintendent of Police subject to the control of the Inspector General of Police and Bharatpur was directly under the control of the Inspector General of Police[37] The strength of police in 1943, 1944 and 1945 was 956 982 and 985 respectively which was negligible in proportion to the size of the State

Education Department

In literacy the State stood eleventh among the States of Rajputana, with 2 8 per cent being able to read and write in the first decade the century It, of course, increased to 5 30 per cent in 1939 In State the schools were either aided or

private They were classified into city schools tehsilee schools (schools close to the headquarters of each paragana), halka bandee schools (purely village schools) and girls schools According to the reports of Lt Walter, Political Agent of Bharatpur, a school was opened in the capital by Maharaja Balwant Singh as early as 1842[38] Till 1856 this school was not in a prosperous condition since only 40 out of a total of 55 students regularly attended it In 1856, Bhola Nath Das took over the charge of the school when the strength increased to 426 pupils, the largest number of pupils that had ever attended any school in Bharatpur before this date The study of English was introduced in the school in 1858 at the instance of the Political Agent, Capt Nixon Maharaja Jaswant Singh who was then hardly twelve years of age also learnt English at this school Later on the Rulers of Bharatpur took keen interest in eradicating the illiteracy as is evident from the inspection report of E F Harris Inspector of Schools, Ajmer Merwara of November 1911 "I am able to bear witness that the organisation of primary and secondary education in Bharatpur has made a giant stride forward and come abreast with, if not got ahead, of most of the schools in Rajputana that I happened to be acquainted with Schools have been standardised, teaching staffs have been greatly improved, salaries of head and secondary teachers have been raised, congestion of pupils have been relieved "

Bharatpur Central Advisory Committee also took keen interest in the affairs of education In 1939-40 it passed resolutions of making literacy universal within five years and of extending basic education in the State Both the resolutions were approved by the Council of State and His Highness Again in 1940 41 the Committee passed resolutions in regard to the establishment of an Intermediate College in Bharatpur the setting up of more basic schools and periodical meetings between the parents of students and teachers With the result an Intermediate College was set up in Bharatpur in that year Beside the High School at Bharatpur another High School was

opened at Deeg in 1944 The department was under the charge of a Superintendent of Schools who was assisted by Inspectors of Schools

Public Works Department

The department was under the supervision and control of the Chief Engineer It had two main sections—General and Mechanical The General section had four branches viz, buildings, irrigation, roads and quarries The Mechanical section looked after the power houses, telephones, State garage and workshops The department maintained 236 miles of metalled road and 141 miles of fair weather road in the State A number of dams chiefly Sikri, Ajan, Baretha, Hanuman Ghati, Sheshamwala and Bhimsagar were also maintained by the department The expenditure over the department, however used to be more than 12 per cent of the total income of the State[40]

The institution of rulership in Bharatpur was essentially based on the personal autocracy of the Ruler The Ruler was virtually the State His rule was direct and personal He was free to spend any amount on maintaining a large establishment of domestic servants and harems Besides, Britain s hand of iron maintained the Princes on the throne 'despite their imbecility, their vices and crimes His powers of appointment, dismissal and promotion made him an autocrate In his discretion he sometimes chose to rule through ministers or advisers and any time he was free to take up the reins of administration himself

Judiciary in the State was not free, fair and independent because the appointment and dismissal of the judges of the High Court was in the hands of His Highness Honesty and independence of judiciary to a great extent, depends upon the security of job of the judges. If the judges lack wisdom, probity and freedom of decision, the high purposes for which judiciary is established cannot be realised There is no better test of the excellence of a government than the efficiency of its judicial system for nothing more nearly touches the welfare

and security of the citizen than this knowledge that he can rely on prompt and impartial administration of justice

The establishment of a legislative assembly known as Brij Jaya Pratinidhi Samiti no doubt, had a wholesome effect on public awakening but it was not more than a consultive body because its decisions were not binding on the Ruler The Samiti met rarely and for short periods, it was consulted more as a matter of courtesy than of right The institution served to create an illusion of democracy while retaining the autocratic set up with the large blocks of members nominated by the executive

Realising the growth of public awakening and the demand for responsible government in the State the Maharaja in May 1946 announced that in future the Council of State shall consist of a Dewan as Vice President and five ministers of whom three will be elected and two nominated But the people did not respond fully to this declaration and demanded much more representation The approach of the Rulers of Bharatpur to this vital problem was half hearted and the advance in the direction of the constitutional reforms in the State was halting and tardy

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6

Administrative Development of Dholpur

With a history of battle and invasion, of conquest and loyalty to ally and sovereign power, the Rulers of Dholpur had been soldiers by tradition It had been the characteristic of the ruling family that they never left a friend in the lurch This ideal was illustrated in the family's age long motto, which decorated its arms, 'Friend to friend we shall be and foe to foe [1] The most illustrious Ruler of Dholpur was Udai Bhan Singh (1911 48) who lived an exemplary simple and unostentatious life His modesty sincerity and refined habits won him an unusally large number of friends and admirers not only in India but in England also As a Ruler he was loved by all classes of his people He identified himself with the welfare of his people He supplied everything his State required—good administration, peace, security and employment for the people With a keen intelligence and the gift of speech he played a leading part in the Chamber of Princes He divided his time between the Chamber of Princes in Delhi of which he was once Vice Chancellor, and his own State, in which he was regarded as a 'father and a god [2] He represented the Indian Princes at the Round Table Conferences in 1930 and 1931 and left in England a 'lasting impression of sagacity, statesmanship and sincere patriotism '[3]

Despite Udai Bhan Singh s benevolent monarchy, the Dholpur administration contained some of the general evils of Princely rule While delivering the presidential address at the Punjab States People s Conference in Lahore on December 27, 1929 Chudgar rightly said that with the exception of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, all States were under the absolute despotism of the Princes and of the Political Agents He said

"While the Princes found plenty of money for self indulgence of all sorts every department of public utility was starved, and even elementary needs like education, sanitation and medical relief were denied to the people"[4] This unhappy state of affairs was mainly due to the policy of the British Government, which was neither interested in the Princes nor their people save its imperialistic interests The British Government divested the Rulers of all responsibility and thereby essentially weakened the 'stimulus to good government as a means of conciliating both nobles and people'[5] The old correctives against selfish despotism, fear of rebellion and deposition, the danger of attack from outside, had been exorcised[6] The Ruler was provided security and protection by British administration and he, thus, cared little for the welfare of his people He had little time left from games and pleasures to look after the affairs of administration The administration with the result remained in the hands of intriguing officials who always tried to misguide the Ruler in order to ensure their position and power The Dholpur State was no exception to it

Estates and Jagirs their role in State Administration

Like other Princely States, the Dholpur State presented the picture of a feudal administration The estates and jagirs formed part of body politic of State administration which were under the general control of the Chief In Dholpur there were two main classes of tenure, namely Khalsa or the land under the Chief s direct authority paying revenue to the State and secondly, the land granted by the Chief under certain conditions to individuals or temples The latter class of tenure was classified into Tankedari Jagir and Muafi[7] Tankedari estate holders managed their estates under the general control of the Darbar They paid fixed rent to the Darbar and were not required to prefer service, save on special occasion, nor to supply horsemen or foot soldiers The principal Tankedari estates were of Sir Mathura and Rijhoni The estate of Sir Mathura was situated in the extreme south west of the State and consisted of 32 villages, with an area of 175 square

miles The holders paid an annual quit rent of Rs 25 000/ and one lakh as Nazarana on investiture of a new Rao The thakurs of Rijhoni paid a quit rent of Rs 1 600/ annually to the Darbar The estate consisted of five villages The second category of estate known as Jagir was the usual service tenure and lands so granted could be resumed by the State on the death of the holder without male successor or on his dismissal for some offence There were about 57 villages in possession of the Jagirdars who in return, were expected to furnish a certain number of horsemen for the State service Muafi was a rent free grant to relations loyal servants and religious ins titutions Such grants to individuals were of two kinds namely for life time, and in perpetuity, subject to resumption on failure of male lineal descendant of the original grantee or an offence against the State Lands assigned to temples were usually in perpetuity The area of entire estates including Tankedari Jagirs and Muafis was 2,39 400 bighas or nearly 21 16 per cent[8] of the total area of the State

Ruler As The Head of State Administration

The Ruler occupied a prominent place in the adminis tration of the State He was the head of the State adminis tration both in theory and practice His range of powers, subject to over riding authority of the British Paramountcy were unlimited There were no fixed rules and regulations for conducting the affairs of the State The Chief was never with out a following around him and the business flowed along with the following Nobles who formed part of the following transacted the State business There were no written records for it was not a practice to record verdicts of the Chief

Executive

The administration of Dholpur till the later half of the nineteenth century was so crude and inefficient that Lord Mayo had to point out to Maharaja Bhagwant Singh when he called on him at Agra on October 27 1870 The Maharaja was apprised of non payment of 16 to 17 *month s pay to the army, excessive debts of the State and*

absence of proper judicial system in the State He was warned that the whole system of administration should be such as to leave no ground for complaint[9] The Maharaja thereupon introduced certain administrative reforms The institutions of Ijlas Khas with a Dewan and the office of Five Nobles were introduced[10] Officers for administering revenue, justice, police and jail were appointed Special police force was stationed in the ravines of river Chambal for checking the operations of dacoits

The administration was carried on by the Dewan, assisted by the Council under the general control of the Political Agent For smooth and efficient working the administration was carried through various departments under the charge of members of the Council The councillors supervised work of heads of individual departments assigned to them. They were appointed by His Highness and held their offices at his pleasure They were responsible to the Chief The Council was simply an advisory body and the entire authority vested in the Chief

Ijlas Khas order of September 17, 1930 for the first time laid down the constitution, powers and procedure of the Council of State It included the Revenue Secretary Judicial Secretary Financial Secretary, Personal Secretary, Law Secretary, Engineer and His Highness[11] The Personal Secretary was to be the convener of the Council Secretaries were required to submit to His Highness cases pertaining to their departments and to obtain his orders thereon Cases could be put before the Council only with the prior approval of His Highness If any Secretary wanted to repeal, amend or enact any law, he was required to submit those papers to His Highness, who was free to refer them to the Council[12] Decisions and orders given *in consultation with* the members were the decisions of His Highness in Council All appeals and applications of revision against the decisions of the High Court and the Revenue Court were submitted to His Highness for his orders He was free to refer such cases to the Council

During the minority of the Chief, the State was administered by a Council of Management under the charge of a British officer, called Superintendent The Council of Management ordinarily included the Revenue and Customs Officer, the Inspector General of Troops, State Engineer and the Nazim[13] From it emanated all the orders regarding payments from the treasury, punishments, dismissals appointments and promotions of State employees settlement of claims for the transfer of land the affairs of the revenue department criminal cases necessitating imprisonment for more than three years, appeals against the orders of the State Officials in every department and lastly, all important cases of every department On investiture of the Chief the Administrative system was to remain the same except that the Dewan or the Secretary assumed the charge of Superintendent

For administrative and fiscal purposes the State was divided into five districts, namely, Gird Bari, Baseri, Kolari and Rajakhera with their headquarters at Dholpur, Bari Baseri, *Sepau and Rajakera respectively*[14] *The estates of* Sir Mathura and Rijhoni, not being parts of any district were under the direct supervision of the Ijlas Khas

Legislature

There was no legislative assembly in the State The Council of State headed by the Chief, worked as legislative organ whose members were responsible to none save the Chief The Council was to frame amend and annul laws for the State The *basic organ necessary for democratic and responsible* government was thus non existent in Dholpur Some of the Chiefs like Ram Singh and Udai Bhan Singh though sufficiently progressive in views, did not care to set up legislative assembly in the State Maharaja Udai Bhan Singh who had supported the Federal India Scheme and mooted out an idea for the formation of a United All India Conservative Party of Indian Princes,[15] even neglected the importance of legislature in his State The Princes were rightly

warned 'When the day arrives that the people not only desire but in truth develop the capacity to choose and control a truly responsible government, the waves of democracy will engulf these fabulous feudatories, scattered throughout the political scene of India all the maharajas and the rajas the nizams and the nawabs will have to step out of their wonderlands behind the looking glass into a work a day world '[16] So also in the Montagu Chelmsford Report of 1918 it was stated that the growth of nationalism in British India was bound to affect their position 'Hopes and aspirations may overleap frontier lines like sparks across a street '[17] It was warned that sooner or later all the princes would feel constrained to take the road of constitutional advance, but most of them did not pay any heed to the warning The executive and legislative authority in the State continued to be centralised

Judiciary

Judicial administration in Dholpur in the nineteenth century was appallingly crude and corrupt There were in complete codes Powers and jurisdictions of the courts were undefined The Ijlas Khas which was the highest court of justice exercised unlimited and discretionary powers The Chief retained in his hands the power of capital punishment, confiscation of property and expulsion from the State In a meeting with Lord Mayo at Agra on October 27, 1870, Maha raja Bhagwant Singh was pointed out of judicial desiderata to which he readily agreed to improve[18] The department was then organised on the following lines

Ijlas Khas—It was the highest court of justice wherein the Chief was assisted by the Dewan It heard appeals from the lower courts and its decisions were final The Court was em powered to inflict capital punishment

Court of Five Nobles—The court consisted of Five Nobles who were appointed by the Chief It heard appeals against the decisions of the lower civil and criminal courts The court

on recording its opinion, together with a summary of the case and the decision of the lower court, was to submit to the Ijlas Khas for orders[19]

Court of the Civil and Criminal Justice—Two judges one for civil and another for criminal work were appointed to settle civil and criminal cases respectively Appeals against their decisions were heard by the Court of Five Nobles

For the guidance of courts there was no codified law so far excepting the 'Dastur ul Amal a collection of standing orders issued by the Superintendent of the State Council and circulars of the Ijlas i Khas issued from time to time Spirit of British laws with due regard to the usages and customs of the State was, course followed in this respect The judicial administration was gradually put on sound footings and by the beginning of the twentieth century was conducted by the following courts

Ijlas Khas—Ijlas Khas was the highest court of judicature It was presided over by the Chief It heard appeals against the decisions of the Court of the Judicial Officer and tried criminal cases beyond the powers of Judicial Officer

Court of the Judicial Officer—It heard criminal and civil appeals against the decisions of the Nazim's Court The Judicial Officer was empowered to pass sentence for imprisonment up to seven years[20] There could be no appeal against a sentence of imprisonment not exceeding one month or fine not exceeding Rs 50/ or against its decisions in suits based on bonds or account books the subject matter of which did not exceed Rs 500/ in value The Ijlas Khas could of course intervene if it deemed fit in exercise of its powers of revision On the civil side the court was empowered to try all suits beyond the powers of the Nazim s Court

Nazim s Court—Its Jurisdiction extended over the entire State It heard civil and criminal appeals against the decisions of the Tehsildar s Court It was vested with the powers of a Magistrate of Class I and was empowered to sentence up to two year s imprisonment impose a fine up to Rs 1000/

and punish by whipping not exceeding 30 stripes On the civil side it heard suits upto Rs 2000/ in value

Tehsildar's Court—For purposes of judicial administration the State was divided into five tehsils, each under a Tehsil dar The Tehsildar was vested with the powers of a Magis trate of Class III and could inflict imprisonment for a period upto one month or impose fine upto Rs 50/ or both Civil suits not exceeding Rs 300/ in value were tried by it

In 1913 14 the judicial set up was restructured and the powers of the civil and criminal courts were revised The reorganised judicature stood as under

High Court—It was constituted for the first time in 1913 The court which consisted of two judges, the Judicial and the Revenue Secretaries of the State Council, was presided over by the Chief It heard appeals against the decisions of the Judicial Officer and was invested with full revisionary powers [21]

Judicial Officer's Court—Appeals against the decisions of the Manager Sir Mathura estate, the Nazim and the Honorary Sub-Judge in both civil and criminal cases were heard by this court at Dholpur The Judicial Officer for purposes of criminal justice was a Sessions Judge and for civil justice a District Judge In his latter capacity he heard suits over the value of Rs 2000/ on the original side

Nazim s Court—It heard civil and criminal appeals against the decisions of the Tehsildar, Munsif of Bari and the Honorary Sub Judge of Dholpur The Nazim was a Magistrate of Class I for deciding criminal cases and a Subordinate Judge empowered to hear civil suits upto the value of Rs 2000/ on the original side

Tehsildar's Court—In the five tehsils of Gird Bari, Baseri Kolari and Rajakhera, the Tehsildars for criminal justice possessed powers of a Magistrate of Class II For purposes of civil justice there were two officers—one designated as Munsif

and the other Honorary Sub Judge The Munsif held his court at Bari with powers to try civil suits of Bari and Baseri tehsils up to the value of Rs 500/ The Honorary Sub Judge with his court at Dholpur was empowered to decide suits of Gird Kolari and Rajakhera tehsils upto the value of Rs 1000/ Both these officers were invested with powers of Small Cause Court in their respective tehsils The Munsif could try suits up to the value of Rs 50/ and the Honorary Sub Judge upto Rs 100/ The Dholpur town area fell under the latter s jurisdiction in this capacity

For trying criminal and civil cases occurring within the limits of Dholpur town there was a bench of Honorary Magistrates and Munsifs who sat in a group of four every alter nate month The Honorary Magistrates possessed Magisterial powers of Class II in criminal cases, and the Munsifs were empowered to try civil suits upto the value of Rs 500/ At Sir Mathura an estate of Dholpur, the Manager appointed by the Chief exercised both criminal and civil powers [22] He was a Magistrate of Class I and a Subordinate Judge with powers to try suits upto the value of Rs 2000/

Judicial administration was further reformed in 1942 43 Under these reforms the various Courts with their powers and jurisdiction stood as under

High Court—The court consisted of two judges and exercised no original jurisdiction Appeals and revisions to it were regulated by the Indian Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes, which were adopted in the State under the orders of His Highness and modified according to the 'Rivaj Riyasat where necessary [3] The High Court was empowered to call for and examine the records of any proceedings before any subordinate court for satisfying itself of the correctness, legality propriety or regularity of any finding sentence or order

Court of the Civil and Sessions Judge—As an appellate court it heard appeals and revisions against the judgments of Magis-

trates, Sub Judges and Munsifs Appeals against its decisions were heard by the High Court

Nazim s Court—The Nazim exercised powers of a Magistrate of Class I on the criminal side, and of a Sub Judge on the civil side, entertaining civil suits up to the value of Rs 1000/

Tehsildar's Court—Tehsildar of paragana Gird was invested with powers of a Magistrate of Class I for criminal justice On the civil side, he exercised powers of a Munsif entertaining suits up to the value of Rs 300/ In other four paraganas, namely, Bari, Baseri, Kolari and Rajakhera, the Tehsildars were invested with powers of a Magistrate of Class II for criminal justice and with those of a Munsif for civil suits up to the value varying from Rs 200/ to Rs 500/

Court of the Manager or Darbar's Agent at Sir Mathura—The Agent exercised powers of a Magistrate of Class I and a Sub Judge for the purpose of hearing cases in the estate

An appeal to the Rulers of Rajputana States to repeal some of the antediluvian laws prevailing in some of the States and perfect the system of judiciary to accord with the cannons of modern civilization was made by Kewal Krishna Garg in the course of his presidential address at Rajputana States Lawyer s Conference held in Dholpur on October 1, 1940 The pre ident felt that the law as it was being administered in some of the Rajputana States tended to be the 'proverbial ass and failed often to evoke respect If the majesty of the law was to be vindicated, antiquated laws, whatever their jurisdiction in the past, had to be repealed Dholpur took a lead in this regard and in order to bring the working of the courts in confirmity with law and practice in British India Courts a number of judicial innovations were made by Maharaja Udai Bhan Singh Some of them included [24] (i) A Law Committee was appointed to codify all local Hidayats and circulars issued during different periods (ii) High Court judgments were to be published periodically, (iii) rules for pleaders were

codified and (iv) circulars were issued for expediting disposal of cases

On February 18 1947 the State Council proposed some amendments to provide better check on unnecessary litigation [11] The amendments were approved by the Chief on March 14, 1947 In terms of those amendments and subject to such rules and regulations made from time, to time no appeal or revision was to lie with the State Council in the following cases

Criminal

1 From any interlocutory judgment or order of the High Court unless it was to be a final judgment in the case

2 From any order of the High Court awarding a sentence of not more than six months imprisonment and fine of Rs 200/

3 No application for review of the orders or judgments of His Highness in Council was to be entertained

Civil

1 From any interlocutory judgment or order of the High Court unless it was to be a final judgment in the case

2 From any suit of the nature of its being congnizable by the Court of Small Cause unless recommended by the High Court

3 From any decree of final order in a suit in which the subject matter of the suit in the Court of first instance was not more than Rs 200/ and in which no question of right of immovable property was involved

4 No application for review of the orders or judgments of His Highness in Council was to be entertained excepting in cases where review was sought for on legal grounds not already discussed and decided

In spite of the innovations made from time to time, the judicial machinery was appallingly crude and inefficient The powers and jurisdiction of the courts were not comprehensive and well defined Antiquated laws were in operation and no serious efforts were made to make the laws up to date

Besides, there was no provision for appeal against the conviction by the High Court on its original side The prerogative of mercy was exercised by the Chief and the Political Agent

Organisation of the Principal Departments

Land Revenue Department

In Khalsa lands the system of tenure was a modified zamindari The zamindars who were generally descendants of the original founders of the villages, had no true proprietory rights but merely contract with the State for payment of the revenue so fixed They were, in a way, collectors of revenue and in theory, were entitled to a remuneration of five per cent on collections known as Mukadami [26] Certain zamindars were also permitted to realize a rent charge known as Nankar on the assests of their villages. This Nankar was originally given on condition of rendering certain services to the State by the recipient, such as the watch and protection of a ghat and service in a disturbed territory, with a view to making the powerful thakurs throw their influence on the side of the State and assist in the collection of revenue The actual cultivators held land on lease, sometimes annually, and rarely for period of more than three years Within the period of lease their rent was not to be enhanced and provided they paid it were not ejected But they had no tenancy rights properly so called by law or custom

In October 1875 the Government of India deputed W H Smith, Settlement Officer Agra to supervise the first settlement operation in Dholpur The survey work which started from October 20, 1875 was a difficult task as Smith in his report to Major T Dennehy, Political Agent, Dholpur commented 'I confess I had anticipated much difficulty in marking out the boundaries of villages under Native Rule, and where no measurement had taken place probably since the time of Akbar ' [27] It was, however, because of the able supervision and guidance of Smith that the survey work could be efficiently done Four new registers of record, namely

the Khasra, the Village Map, the Village Statement and the Jummabandee were opened Kanhaiya Lal was appointed as the first Deputy Collector of the Settlement Department

The first regular settlement was conducted by W Raw, Settlement Officer, Dholpur and Karauli from October 1, 1907 The settlement operation was completed on August 31, 1912 and the land revenue demand according to the new assessment was fixed at Rs 9,43,815/- This settlement was for a period of twenty years The expiry of the settlement synchronised with the catastrophic fall in prices due to trade and agricultural depression Beginning of the Second World War and the active participation of the Ruler in it also pressed the autho rities to defer the new operation The second regular settle ment operation began in 1942 43 but could not be implemented till 1947 when the State acceded to the Indian Dominion

The status of the tenants, of course improved much in forties The rent of every holding was fixed and the tenants in actual possession of the land were declared to be Bandobasti tenants whose rents could not be enhanced till the introduc tion of the new settlement [28] They had now hereditary rights under the ordinary laws of succession They could, however, be ejected for non payment of arrears, breach of agreement, commission of any act seriously deterimental to the value of the land and illegal sub letting [29] These rules applied to the entire State, including Khalsa, Jagir and Muafi areas

In March 1947 some amendments in the revenue proce dure were introduced The decisions of the Tehsildars so far had the fourth stage in its coming up in appeal to the Ijlas Khas This was considered superfluous The third decision of the Revenue Secretary of the State Council was henceforth regarded to be final No appeals or revisions could accor dingly be made from the decisions of the Revenue Member (i) in cases of ejectment where no question of any lawful agreement between the parties was involved (ii) in cases of redemption where the mortgage money did not exceed Rs 500/ unless any legal point or limitation was involved and (iii)

no application for review of the orders or judgments of His Highness in Council was to be entertained excepting in cases where review was sought for on legal grounds not already discussed and decided [30]

For fiscal purposes the State was divided into five tehsils, namely, Bari, Baseri, Gird (Dholpur), Kolari and Rajakhera There was a Tehsildar for each tehsil Each tehsil of Gird and Rajakhera had a Naib—Tehsildar also The duties of the Tehsildars were multifarious Beside revenue work they were also to hear civil and criminal cases falling within their powers and jurisdiction Tehsils were sub-divided into taluquas the number and areas thereof varied from time to time Copies of records, accounts and statistics of each taluqua were maintained by the Kanungos Village accounts were kept by a Patwari of each village Deputy Collector was over all in charge of the department It was estimated that of an area of 1197 square miles of the State nearly 900 square miles were Khalsa, and the rest was held on special tenures by individuals or charitable and religious institutions

Police Department

The police department upto 1930 was under the charge of the judicial officer known as Nazim, who was assisted by a Kotwal a Circle Inspector and some Sub-Inspectors Subsequently the department was reorganised by separating judiciary from the police It was placed under the charge of the Superintendent of Police who was invested with powers of a Magistrate of Class II for offences committed under the Criminal Tribes Act [31]

For purposes of police administration the State was divided into 14 circles or thanas Besides thanas, there were 25 outposts in the State and a Kotwali at the capital Each circle was under the charge of an Inspector The Sub Inspectors Head Constables and policemen attached to a circle were subordinate to the Inspector The armed police and the criminal investigation branch were under the charge of a

Deputy Superintendent, who was assisted by Subedars Haval dars and constables[32] In addition to the regular police force, there were Village Chawkidars who were paid from the Chawkidari Cess It was their duty to convey to the police stations information regarding the occurrence of cognizable offences, epidemics and movement of wandering tribes or suspected persons within their respective beats The ratio of police to population in 1914 15 was 1 to 688 2 and that to area was 1 to 5 81 square miles In the forties there was a police man for each group of 642 persons of the population and for each square miles of the area Considering the fact that a large area of the State consisted of hills jungles and ravines the ratio of the strength of the police was inadequate Anti dacoity operations were often conducted in the tracts of jungles and ravines but they failed to curb the activities of the dacoits With the result, law and order was always missing in those areas and a large number of population was forced to migrate to the neighbouring States

Education Department

According to the census of 1901 only 1 4 per cent of the population in the State was literate Literacy increased to 5 6 percent of the population in 1941 Much of the progress in education in the twentieth century was due to the keen interest taken by the Darbar Apart from many village and tehsil schools there was one High School at the capital affiliated to the Board of Rajputana and Central India in the early forties[33] It provided facility for imparting instructions in almost all the optional subjects approved by the Board The primary education in State schools was absolutely free and the tution fees for higher classes was quite nominal In addition to free supply of books to the poor and deserving students, and boarding, lodging and clothing to orphans some amount was allocated in the State budget every year for grant of scholar ships to the bonafide residents of the State for higher studies in India and abroad Grants in aid were liberally given to

private Sanskrit and Arabic institutions and to the Islamic Anjumans of Bari and Dholpur [34] State schools were open to harijans but their number used to be very negligible

Religious and moral education was a part of the curriculum for boys in State institutions and was imparted for fifteen minutes daily In 1942 His Highness introduced a regular course of religious education and started awarding one gold and one silver medal to the first two students in the subject This branch of study was also given prominence in the education of girls in Shri Maharani Kanya Pathshala

Public Works Department

The department was under the charge of a Superintendent Engineer who was assisted by engineers and overseers The department was entrusted with three types of work, namely irrigation, railway, roads and buildings each under the charge of an engineer The department constructed and maintained a large number of dams chiefly Ramsagar dam, Khurla dam Hussainpur dam, Nidhera dam, and Bisnoda dam It also constructed metalled roads in the State, the total length being 125 miles [35] The metalled road from Agra to Bombay running through the breadth of the State from north to south was about 18 miles long Other main roads ranged from Dholpur to Agra via Rajakhera, from Dholpur to Bharatpur via Bari, and from Dholpur to Karauli via Kolari and Baseri The Dholpur State Railway which joined the G I P Railway at Dholpur junction was also maintained by the department The line in the State was about 55 44 miles long [36] The capital investment on it was Rs 17,40 671/ and the average net profit used to be about 4 5 per cent of the capital outlay Construction and maintenance of a large number of public buildings like Agency house, hospitals and dispensaries, post offices educational buildings residential training lines for troops and police and other public offices was al.o the work of the department

Dholpur was considered prosperous among the States of Eastern Rajputana The administration for its measures of

public welfare was praised by the officials of the Government of India Lord Irwin in his Viceregal speech at Dholpur in 1928 said "It is a record in which Your Highness may surely take legitimate pride and I am not deceived by your charac teristic modesty in giving all the credit to your officials Your Highness has set before yourself and has followed a high ideal of duty which is manifest in the genuine care and interest with which you watch over the welfare of your subjects Your Highness is rewarded by the personal affection of your people which is well known '[37] Ved Prakash Vidyalanker in his presidential address of the Eastern Rajputana States Political Conference at Dholpur on August 20 1940 also com mended 'the administration of Udai Bhan Singh whose ascetic simplicity and habits of life had earned him the respect of Gandhi among the Princes of India a fact which was amply reflected in his administration, which relieved of all expensive and cumbrous features and ensured financial stability and contented peasantry '[38]

Increased provisions for the extension of medical facili ties, especially in rural areas, successful enforcement of the scheme of educational expansion and development of communi cations in the State were some of the features of progress Expanding revenue and decreasing expenditure by tapping the natural resources of the State and introducing a scheme of industrialization ensured a sound financial position of the State whose annual income was shown at Rs 16,44,000 against the expenditure of Rs 16,24 000, leaving a surplus of Rs 20 000 in 1939 40 [39] For the encouragement of indigenous indus tries, State purchase of articles from outside was almost stopped [40] The amelioration of the lot of untouchables was the main plain of State administration Schools were opened and wells for the harijans were sunk This reflected the Ruler s solicitude for the down trodden

On the other hand, the Ruler was the head of State ad ministration both in theory and practice He exercised enor

mous powers The members of the executive i e the Council of State worked at his will He could appoint and remove them There was no legislative body in the State and constitutional reforms in other States did not create a stir in Dholpur Judiciary though slightly better organised than the executive and legislature had its own drawbacks The judicial officers were appointed and removed by the Chief at will Independent judiciary was thus non existent in the State The most elementary rights were denied to the people viz , no security of property, no liberty of press or assembly and no form of representative government Even the Kisan Sabha in the early half of 1938 had demanded reduction of land revenue abolition of many restrictive excise duties revision of import and export duties abolition of corruption and illegal exactions restoration of their rights over forests irrigation sources protection of their lands, homes and women, and a partnership in the State administration 41

The State had comparatively few departments There were no separate welfare departments as we find today The aim of the State administration was limited to the maintenance of law and order and the collection of revenue Education department did not occupy a significant position in the State administration for it was regarded as a burden on the exchequer In 1945 beside a high school there were only 35 primary and middle schools with 3476 pupils on role and a budget of Rs 40 127/ There was a professional tax in the State and in spite of the agitation of the Dholpur Praja Mandal against it the tax used to be collected 42 This caused discontentment among the business community and affected the trade and commerce in the State

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7

Administrative Development of Karauli

Karauli was the smallest State in Eastern Rajputana Like other Princely States the Ruler s of Karauli had a dominant note in the State polity There was an absolute, personal and autocratic rule in the State Ruler was also the head of the clan and on account of the clan system, the State had an elaborate feudal organisation The feudal lords were the supporting arms of the Ruler and helped him in carrying out the administration The State administration however was antiquated and ill organised

Estates and Jagirs—Their role in State administration

In Karauli State the aristocracy consisted of Jadon thakurs who were connected with the royal family The thakurs and jagirdars paid as tribute a fixed sum called Khandi [1] The tribute being one forth of the produce of the soil, was in lieu of military service which was not performed in Karauli In case of military emergencies or State pageants the thakurs and jagirdars were requisitioned with their retainers who, on such occasions were maintained by the State exchequer On ordinary occasions their attendance at the Darbar was at their own expense Disobedience to lawful summons or order involves sequestration of lands, if the chief could enforce it, but it was rare that an estate was confiscated outright and annexed to the crown lands as the whole federation of minor chiefs would be against it So long as the minor chiefs fulfilled their customary obligations, they held their estates and exercised authority within their limits They were in a way coparceners with the Ruler in their rights to dominion over the soil and to the fruits of it

No other tax in addition to the tribute was ordinarily exacted except in case of disputed succession when Nazarana was levied The successor of a deceased jagirdar or bapotiholder was required to pay death duty called Matmi before mutation was granted in his favour The tax in case of a direct lineal descendant was half of the yearly income of the estate, while in case of a successor other than the lineal descendant, a whole year's income was taken as Matmi[2] Succession was generally by primogeniture, but by custom a thakur on succession was bound to assign land for maintenance to his younger brothers if any In some cases the estates were equally divided among all sons, while in others the eldest received a double share[3]

In Karauli the tribute paying families known as Kotries were thirty seven[4] in number of which those of Hadoti, Amargarh, Rawantra, Inaiti, Bhartun and Padampura were called Thikanedars The remaining noble families of lesser importance belonged to Haridas and Mukand Kotries or to the Pal family and were styled as Bapotidars It is estimated that about 3,00 021 acres were alienated to the estate holders.

The estate holders were empowered to manage their estates sol ly except in matters of mineral rights which were claimed by the Darbar[5] All matters relating to estates includ ing Bapotis and Jagirs were submitted to and decided by the Ijlas which was composed of His Highness, as President and the Dewan as a member The es ate holders thus formed a part of State administration of which the Chief was the final authority

Ruler as the head of State Administration

Some of the Chiefs of Karauli particularly Madan Pal Jai Singh Pal, Bhom Pal and Ganesh Pal had remarkable incentive and capacity to work for the welfare of their people It is said of Madan Pal that he was a 'Chief of remarkable vigour, was thoroughly master of his State had a decided opinion of his own in all ma ters which came before him and administered

justice between man and man with an even and careful hand '[6] Jai Singh Pal devoted himself with greater attention to the administration of the State, especially, the regulation of finances, improvement of the revenue system and the means of communications In a short period of six years (1869 1875) he made himself master of the situation and exercised authority with a firm and judicious hand

Executive

State Council

The administration of Karauli was run by the State Council in the name of the Maharaja The Council, headed by the Chief, formed the executive organ of the State In 1870 71 it consisted of six members,[7] while in 1906 it was reduced to two only The number thus varied with the caprice of the individual Ruler In 1932 certain administrative changes were introduced and the State Council was abolished with effect from December 31 It was replaced by a Dewan, assisted by an Assistant and a Secretary [8]

Institution of the State Council was revived when the 'Constitution for the governance of the Karauli State outlining the administrative set up was framed and enforced from October 8, 1945 The constitution laid down that the administration shall be conducted by His Highness with the assistance of a Council whose members were to be appointed by him and shall hold office during his pleasure [9] The Council was composed of five members namely His Highness, Dewan, Home member, Revenue Member and the Judicial Member His Highness being the President of the Council was empowered 'to take action in any emergent case as he may deem fit without reference to the Council [10] All questions placed before the Council were decided by a majority vote, but the President had a casting vote when opinions were equally divided [11] Apart from the allocation of portfolios the President exercised general control over the finances of the State Because of his enormous discretionary and arbitrary

powers the Ruler was virtually a dictator He dictated through an admirably devised system of the State Council and Councillors

Each member of the Council was in charge of such departments of administration as were allocated to him and exercised powers as per Schedule of Powers of the Constitution for the governance of Karauli State 1945 The President reserved the power, on the recommendations of the Dewan, or suo motu, to take away any portfolio from any member and place it in charge of any other Constitution for the governance of Karauli State laid down the following distribution of portfolios

Dewan—The executive work of the State was performed by the Dewan He was incharge of finance foreign and political affairs treasury medical public works department education police, jail, post office and guest house In addition to the charge of these departments he was empowered

(a) to exercise general supervision over all the departments other than the Privy Purse and to inspect them from time to time

(b) to dispose of the cases where there was a difference of opinion between the member in charge and other members, provided the case was not of sufficient importance to justify its submission to His Highness

(c) to dispose of cases regarding leave of officers in the State service beyond the powers of the member in charge

(d) to call for statements returns and necessary information regarding urgent foreign matters direct from all the departments,

(e) to call for the papers or correspondence pertaining to any case from any department and make necessary suggestions to the member concerned or submit the case to the Ijlas Khas for consideration and order

(f) to entertain applications or complaints relating to any department of the State and make enquiry himself, or

forward them to the member concerned for disposal or for report, and if necessary, submit them to the Ijlas Khas with his opinion thereon,

(g) to prepare agenda for each meeting and to circulate it at least two days before the meeting of the Council, and

(h) to deal with any emergent matter during the absence of His Highness from the capital

Home Member—He was incharge of palace excluding privy purse matters relating to jagirdars excluding judicial and revenue affairs, military stables commissariat, gardens charities and pensions

Revenue Member—He was incharge of revenue, customs, forests, power hou e, motor garage municipality, mines and industries muafidars jagirdars and bapotidars

Judicial Member —He was incharge of judicial administration Mahakma Khas Court of wards and law

The Council held its meetings once a week under the presidency of His Highness and in his absence the Dewan was to preside It heard appeals against the decisions of the Dewan and also disposed of matters beyond his jurisdiction

Ijlas Khas

Above the State Council there was the Ijlas Khas which consisted of the Chief as President and the Dewan as a member The following matters were submitted to and decided by the Ijlas Khas

Foreign and Political

1 Treaties and agreements with the British Government or with other States

2 Messages and pronouncements by the Government and declaration of policy by and in the name of His Highness' Government

3 All matters relating to the Chamber of Princes

4 Exchange of Kharitas and Dastoors

5 Matters relating to political and inter State relations, State visits and ceremonies connected therewith

Finance

1 Sanction to the State budget

2 Sanction to expenditure exceeding Rs 2000/ over and above the budget grant

3 Investment or re investment of State funds

4 Grant of rewards exceeding Rs 100/ in each case

5 Grant of pension, gratuity and allowances to widows and minors

6 Grant of scholarships over and above the budgeted amount

7 Loans

8 Sanction to plans and estimates for new schemes valued over Rs 2000/

9 Creation of a new department

10 Remission or suspension of any State dues exceeding Rs 100/ in each case

11 All donations above Rs 500/

Revenue Customs and Forest

1 Grant or resumption of Jagirs and other Muafees of land and property

2 Sanction to adoption for Jagirs and other Muafees of land and property

3 Sanction to land revenue rates after settlement operations

4 General remission or suspension of land revenue

5 Exchange of Khalsa and Jagir areas

6 Sanction to sale of State property including land and houses

7 Imposition, alteration and abolition of taxes, duties or levies

8 Mining and forest lease or concessions relating thereto

9 Exemption from payment of customs duty permanently

10 Afforestation of new areas and abandonment of existing forest areas

General

1 Appointment and dismissal of State service officers including army personnel
2 Appointment to State service of persons not being bona-fide residents of the State
3 Re-employment to State service of persons who had been dismissed earlier
4 Grant of Honours, Sanads and forfeiture thereof
5 Exercise of Ruler s prerogative of mercy
6 Release of prisoners before the expiry of sentence, depor tation and expulsion
7 All matters likely to impose State responsibilities or lia bilities—political, financial, constitutional and physical
8 Any change in the Constitution or in the Schedule of Powers
9 Codification of any fresh law
10 Despatch or use of military force
11 Revision, modification or withdrawal of orders or notifi cations in force
12 Organisation and discipline of the State Army

Legislature

Legislature in the sense of a representative organisation responsible to its people, enjoying wide powers of administra tion and taxation, and functioning both as a school of training in responsibility and a vital link in the chain of organisms that make the government of the country was not in existence in the State Even at the local level the representative institu tions such as panchayats district boards and municipal committees were very few The entire background from which a democratic and representative government arises was com pletely lacking Respect for individual rights the habit of arriving at decisions through discussion and compromise loyalty to decisions already arrived at, which form the basis of democracy, were yet to develop in the State

The State Council, headed by His Highness, was a legislative cum executive organ of the State Its powers in the sphere of legislation were vast and varied It was to frame, codify, amend or annul the laws for the State It was empowered to amend the constitution for the State, frame policy for the governance of the State grant or resume the Jagirs and Muafees, sanction land revenue rates, make general remission or suspension of revenue exchange Khalsa and Jagir areas, impose, alter and abolish taxes, customs and excise duties, and sanction the budget of the State

There was no bill of rights guaranteeing to the people liberty of speech press, association security of person and property There were of course, laws in the State, but most of them were adopted from the British India laws and modified according to exigencies In absence of legislative body the subjects thus had no hand in framing of the laws for the State which were to apply to them

Judiciary

Ijlas Khas, headed by the Chief was the highest court of appeal revision and confirmation Ruler s decisions was its decision The severity of penalty and form of torture were all decided by him Instances of expulsion, confinement and confiscation of property were quite common In the administration of justice the State courts mostly followed the British India procedure with necessary modifications The judicial machinery in the early decades of the present century consisted of

State Council—It heard appeals against the civil and criminal orders of the Judicial Member of the Council All civil and criminal cases which were beyond the powers of the Judicial Member were tried by this Court All appeals of suits involving landed property or relating to question of right or custom were heard by it The decision of the Council in all cases was subject to confirmation by His Highness

Court of the Judicial Member—The Court heard civil and criminal appeals against the orders of the Judicial Officer It heard appeals of money suits upto Rs 500/ On criminal side it heard appeals of cases in which the sentence of punishment was upto two years and fine upto Rs 200/-

Court of the Judicial Officer—It exercised the powers of a District Magistrate and a District Judge It heard appeals against the orders of Tehsildars and was empowered to try civil suits of any value It could also impose imprisonment upto three years in criminal cases

Tehsildar's Court—It exercised powers of a Magistrate of Class III in criminal cases and was empowered to decide civil suits upto the value of Rs 50/ It could impose fine upto Rs 30/ in civil cases and inflict imprisonment upto one month in criminal cases

The aforesaid judicial administration continued to function till 1938 39 when it was reorganised with following powers

Final Court of Appeal—His Highness exercised the powers of the Final Court of Appeal like that of the Privy Council and had the power of awarding capital punishment [12]

Mahakama Khas—It exercised the powers of the High Court in civil and criminal cases and heard appeals against the decisions of the District and Sessions Judge Its decisions were subject to confirmation by His Highness

Court of the District and Sessions Judge—It heard civil and criminal appeals against the orders of the District Magistrate and Sub-Judge The judge was empowered to inflict imprisonment upto twenty years but sentences beyond seven years necessarily required confirmation of the Mahakama Khas [13] It heard original civil suits of any value exceeeding Rs 1000/

Adalat Sadar or the Court of the District Magistrate and Sub-Judge—As a District Magistrate for the entire State he heard

civil and criminal appeals against the decisions of the Tehsildars and Honorary Magistrates On original side he was empowered to try civil suits of value between Rs 500/ and Rs 1000/

Munsif's Court—The Court had its office in the capital It had powers to try civil suits upto the value of Rs 500/

Tehsildar's Court—It was empowered to try civil suits upto the value of Rs 50/ The Tehsil courts of Sapotra and Mandrail were, however empowered to try suits upto the value of Rs 100/ On the criminal side they had the powers of a Magistrate of Class III and could inflict imprisonment upto one month and impose fine upto Rs 30/

Judicial department was again reorganised when the Constitution for the governance of the Karauli State was enforced With the enforcement of the Constitution from October 8 1945 all earlier orders relating to the jurisdiction of various civil and criminal courts were treated as cancelled[14] and the following courts were constituted

Chief Court—The Court was presided by the Chief Justice It exercised original appellate and revisional powers in civil and criminal cases It was empowered to call for the record of any case from any subordinate court On the civil side it could hear first appeals from decrees and orders passed by the District Judge in exercise of his original jurisdiction It could also hear second appeals from appellate courts and orders of the District Judge subject to the provisions of the Civil Procedure Code It exercised revisional powers referred to in section 115 of the Civil Procedure Code In civil cases, this Court was the final authority Its judgments and orders were not open to any appeal The State Council was not empowered to entertain any appeal or petition against its judgments and orders[15] On the criminal side the court was empowered to hear appeals against the orders of acquittal passed by any subordinate court when presented by the Public Prosecutor under the directions any officer, specially authorised by the Darbar

It could also hear appeals against the orders of conviction passed by the Sessions Judge In criminal cases, the orders of acquittal and conviction passed by the Chief Court in exercise of its original, appellate and revisional jurisdiction were final, subject to the condition that the Chief might exercise his prerogative of mercy either suo moto or on the application of the convict [16]

Court of the District and Sessions Judge—The court exercised original and appellate jurisdiction On the civil side it could try all suits valued at more than Rs 1000/ in orginal It could also hear appeals against decrees and orders passed by the subordinate courts in exercise of their original jurisdiction On the criminal side the judge tried in original all cases triable by the Sessions Court and challaned by the police or committed for trial by the District Magistrate Any case transferred by the Chief Court was also tried by it Appeals against the orders of conviction passed by the Magis trates were also heard by the court Further, the trial of sessions cases with the aid of assessors and jurors was dis continued The system of inquiry by Magistrates into cases exclusively triable by the Sessions court was also abolished [17] Henceforth such cases on being challaned by the police were heard by the Sessions Court

District Magistrate s Court—There was only one District Magistrate s Court in the entire State at the capital It received all police challans in respect of offences triable by State courts excepting those triable exclusively by the Sessions Court or by the Magistrates in various tehsils It could trans fer such challans to the Court of Honorary Magistrates if they were related to the offences triable by a Magistrate of Class III It received all such complaints in respect of offences triable by the State courts excepting those which were triable by the Magistrates in various tehsils In cases of complaint against such offences as were exclusively triable by the Sessions Court, it was to take proceedings under the provisions of Chapter XVIII

of the Cr P C as applied to the Karauli State The court in trying aforesaid cases exercised the powers of a Magistrate of Class I Whenever the Court of the District Magistrate felt after hearing the evidence for the prosecution and the accused that the accused being guilty deserved punishment more severe than the court was empowered to inflict, it forwarded the case to the Sessions with its opinion and proceedings

Subordinate Judge's Court—There was only one such court at Karauli in the entire State The court only exercised original jurisdiction in civil cases It tried all suits of Karauli town upto the value of Rs 1000/ All suits of Sapotra and Mandrail tehsils of the value between Rs 00/ and Rs 1000/ were heard by it All suits of Hazoor, Machelpur and Karanpur tehsils of the value between Rs 50/ and Rs 1000/ were also tried by this court

Munsif's Court—There was a Munsif's court in each of five tehsils The Munsifs of Sapotra and Mandrail tehsils were empowered to hear civil suits of less than Rs 100/ in value The Munsifs of Hazoor, Machelpur and Karanpur tehsils could try civil suits of less than Rs 50/- in value

Magistrate's Court—There was a Magistrate's court in each of the five tehsils The Magistrates of Sapotra and Mandrail tehsils were empowered to try all cases of their respective tehsils relating to offences triable by the Magistrates of Class II and III The Magistrates of Hazoor Machelpur and Karanpur tehsils were to hear all such cases as were transferred by the District Magistrate They exercised the powers of Magistrate of Class III The courts were also to try cases relating to offences under the Municipal Act The judicial administration thus had to pass through various phases for coming to this stage

Organisation of the principle departments

Land Revenue Department

Till 1908 the fiscal history of the State was shroud d in obscurity There were no proper jamabandis or rent rolls

lands were never properly measured, different kinds of bighas prevailed in different parts of the State no correct record of Muafi lands were maintained and no proper maps and survey records were available in the State The condition of the ryots was deplorable and with ever changing rents they showed no incentive for the improvement of their holdings

The first regular land settlement was made by W Raw, Settlement Officer Karauli and Dholpur State in 1909 12 for a period of twenty years The settlement applied to the khalsa and conditional jagir villages only The bapoti or hereditary villages were left untouched The gross revenue demand was assessed at Rs 4 47 371/ Revenue Code defining the rights of cultivators and muafidars the duties of revenue officials, procedure for the maintenance of revenue records and the rules for the remission of revenue were drafted under this settlement [19] The expiry of the first regular settlement synchronized with the catastrophic fall in prices in 1930 which ushered in an era of trade and agricultural depression The settlement, therefore was extended till 1935 The depression continued and the period was further extended by five years up to October 1940 Beginning of the World War II the State wide draught and the paucity of funds further delayed the revision of the settlement till 1947 when the State acceded to the Indian Dominion

There were two main kinds of tenure in Karauli namely, Khalsa under which the State itself possessed all rights and privileges over the land and Muafi, under which the State conferred rights and privileges to the holders subject to certain conditions In Khalsa area the cultivating tenures of peasantry were numerous In some villages a fixed sum was levied while in others revenue was levied on the annual assessment made by the tehsildars In some villages the State took some share, varying from one fifth to one half of the actual produce and lastly under the Thekadari or Lambardari system, a village or a part of it, was leased for a term of five or ten years to the

headman or any individual for a fixed sum, payable half yearly The cultivating tenure was purely ryotwari The tenants enjoyed hereditary rights and could not be ejected from their holdings so long as they paid the rent regularly

Every village had leading cultivating families who *derived eminence from antiquity They claimed their descent* from the original settlers of the village They were called Biswedars and enjoyed certain privileges They were entitled to realise cess for the construction of wells from the cultivators of the village The headmen, designated as Mehtas were appointed in each village from amongst Biswedars and were paid 3 per cent of revenue collection known as Mehta Chut [20] It was for their services and assistance in the collection of revenue and arranging for the cultivation of abandoned holdings Sometimes the Mehtas were given land for cultivation in lieu of cash payment

Revenue was collected in two instalments, i e in april and november from all holdings except of sugarcane which was *realised in december It is estimated that out of 388 villages* in the State, 214 villages covering 4 84, 490 acres were Khalsa with a revenue of Rs 4 lakhs

Revenue department was under the control and supervi*sion of the Revenue Member of the State Council* He was assisted by the Deputy Collector who was empowered to try all revenue cases of zamindars and cultivators, cases relating to evasion of payment of revenue mutation of names execution of decrees relating to land disputes etc Appeals against his decisions were heard by the Revenue Member For purposes of administration the State was divided into five tehsils namely, Hazoor (Karauli) Sapotra, Machilpur, Mandrail and Utgir Each tehsil was under the charge of a Tehsildar who apart from collection of revenue heard summary suits relating to land He was assisted by the Patwaris, Tehsilias and Mehtas In every village there was a Tehsilia who was subordinate to the Patwari of a circle in which the village was situated

Police Department

The indigenous system of police in Karauli was organised on the basis of land tenure The zamindar was bound to apprehend all disturbers of peace and to restore stolen property or make good its value Under the zamindars were a number of subordinate tenure holders who were responsible for the maintenance of peace in their areas This was also as a rule the joint responsibility of the villagers The village responsibility was enforced through the headman, who was assisted by village watchmen The watchmen was the real police of the State His duties were to keep watch at night, observe arrivals and departures of all strangers and to report all suspicious persons to the headman If theft was committed within the village boundary, it was his business to detect the thieves In towns the administration of the police was entrusted to an officer called Kotwal This system was well suited to the needs of a simple homogeneous agricultural community but it could not stand the strain of political disorder and a need to reform the police system was felt

With the impact of the British administration the police system was improved The State authorities retained the village system and tried to improve the machinery of supervision In the beginning the State police was neither given any training nor any uniform They were not provided with sticks and were required to keep their own swords It was only in 1906 that the police personnel were given training and provided with uniforms and batons Zamindars were relieved of the liability of police service and were replaced by the Judicial Officer or the District and Sessions Judge In capital the office of Kotwal was maintained and a daroga was appointed for each ward of the city The results of these changes were not very satisfactory and attempts were made to reorganise the police department

In 1920 21 a Superintendent of police was appointed for the first time who worked under the authority of the District

and Sessions Judge However, in 1930 the department was separated from the control of the District and Sessions Judge and was kept under the charge of the Inspector-General of Police[21] He was assisted by Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, Thanedars and constables

For purposes of police administration the State was divided into six circles, namely, Mandrail, Machilpur, Karanpur, Kurgaon Sapotra and Gurla Each circle was controlled by one Inspector and seven Thanedars There was a Kotwali at the capital and each circle had a police station or thana Apart from police stations in every circle there were several outposts or chowkis The regular police was largely dependent for information and a sistance on the village officers Each police station had within its jurisdiction a number of villages In each village there was a Chowkidar or village watchman The Chowkidars were not stipendary, but received perquisites from the inhabitants of the village or rent free lands Their duty was to report about crimes thefts or epidemics in the village to the police post They were under the control and supervision of the Deputy collector and his subordinates The total police force for the entire State in 1939 40, 1943 44 and 1945-46 was 219 187 and 242 with an expenditure of Rs 18 609/ , Rs 18 184/ and Rs 23,148/- respectively

Education Department

According to the census of 1901 there were only 2 3 per cent of the people able to read and write in the State[22] In 1871 there was only one primary school at the capital and it was at the instance of Sir Smith, Political Agent, Eastern Rajputana States that the primary school was raised to high school in 1886[23] Later on Col Martelli Political Agent caused five schools to be set up in five tehsils of the State and thus placed education within the reach of the villagers[24]

In spite of free primary education it did not make a significant headway possibly owing to the paucity of schools

and the partisan policy of the State The untouchables were debarred from admission into these s hools[25] In the thirtees a primary school was opened for harijan boys but it had to be closed down on account of opposition by the upper castes[26]

The Head Master of the Maharaja High School, Karauli in his capacity of the Director of Public Instructions was empowered to issue instructions and frame rules and regulations regarding courses of studies for lower classes

The number of schools, students and annual expenditure on education was as under

Year	High School	Primary Schools	Girls	Total	Students	Expenditure Rs
1907 08	1	5	1	7	380	4 146
1910 11	1	6	1	8	436	6 374
1912 13	1	7	1	9	464	7 303
1914-15	1	8	1	10	584	6 895
1928 29	1	8	1	10	621	10 672
1933 34	1	8	1	10	803	11 169
1938 39	1	11	1	13	1 013	12 314
1939 40	1	16	1	18	1 250	13 391
1943 44	1	18	1	20	1 872	16 402
1944-45	1	18	1	20	2 156	19 317

Public works Department

The Public Works Department known as Kamthana was under the charge of a Superintendent Engineer who was assisted by engineers and overseers The department had three heads of work—roads, irrigation and buildings each under the charge of an engineer It also looked after the power house State motor garage, telephones, and educational buildings in the State The department maintained 52 miles of metalled road from Karauli to Hindaun and 49 miles of motorable un metalled road in the State Rest of the roads were fair weather tracks, some passable by bullock carts and others by camels There were about 908 dams and tanks in the State which were maintained by the department Some of the important dams were Bhumendra Sagar dam Kalyanpur dam Rundhpura dam Madan Sagar dam Dabra dam, Madanpur dam and Ziharda dam The expenditure of the

department on public utility works was Rs 43 509/ (1939 40), Rs 54 801 (1940 41) Rs 46 605/ (1942 43), Rs 89,199/ (1943 44) and Rs 87,807/- (1944 45)

In Karauli State administration, the executive and legislative functions were not clearly demarcated Their functions over lapped and the Ruler had a dominant role in all the areas of administration The State Council, headed by the Chief was a legislative cum executive organ of the State Judiciary was not independent Administrative machinery was out of sympathy and out of touch with the needs of the people Besides, there was hardly any limit to personal expenses of the Chief and members of the royal family Large amounts of public money were lavishly spent by them for their plea ures There was of course, an elaborate organisation of revenue and police administration But from this it could be inferred that the State authorities cared of only collecting the revenue and of maintaining law and order within the frontiers of the State The State administration continued to perform these limited functions even at the close of the World War II when a remarkable awakening was taking place all around India people were agitating for responsible government in their States and the events were heading towards the independence of the country

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2 Report on the Administration of Karauli State 1939-40 p 7
3 Lyall Alfred The Ruling Princes Chiefs and Leading Personages in Rajputana and Ajmer Calcutta Govt of India 1931 p 118
4 Ibid
5 Raw W Final Report on the First Settlement of Karauli State 1909 1912 p 10
6 Report on the Political Administration of Rajputana States 1870-71 Calcutta pp 159-160
7 Ibid Malook Pal Commander of the troops Chattar Pal Commandant of a Rasala Shyam Lal Hindu Office Dewan Baldeo Singh, Fazal Rasul Agency Vakil and Brubbhan Singh Manager of the State were the members of the State Council

8 Report on the Administration of Karauli State 1932 33 p 3 Dewan Shanker Nath Sharma Naib Dewan Mangi Lal and Secretary-cum Home Member Jugal Kishore were appointed as office bearers in the new administrative set up

9 Constitution for the governance of the Karauli State 1945 Art 4(a)

10 op cit., Article 8(b)

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British Government and its relations with the Eastern Rajputana States

Emergence of East India Company in the eighteenth century was an event of great significance During the first period of the Company's policy towards the Indian States (1757 1813), 'the British Government endeavoured as far as possible, to live within a ring fence and beyond it the Company avoided interference in the affairs of the Native States Lord Wellesley (1798 1805) however, felt the need for a change and introduced the policy of subordinate alliance 'to place these States in such a degree of dependence on the British power as may deprive them of the means of prosecuting any measures or of forming any confederacy hazardous to the security of the British Empire, and may enable us (British Government) to preserve the tranquility of India by exercising a general control over these States'[1] The Company accepted the change in its policy of ring fence because the circumstances and the internal political situation within the Indian States favoured such a change

Political Alliances with the Company

Eastern Rajputana States comprising Alwar, Bharatpur Dholpur and Karauli could not escape from the Maratha depredations and their survival compelled them to accept British protection The political exigencies thus paved the way to a series of treaties between the Company and the Eastern Rajputana States which had bearing on their constitutional and political development It would, therefore be relevant here to refer to them A treaty of perpetual friendship was concluded on September 29 1803 between Bharatpur and the

Company The Company agreed that it 'shall never interfere in the concerns of the Maharaja s country' nor 'shall exact any tribute from him [2] The Company concluded an 'offensive and defensive alliance [3] with Alwar on November 14, 1803 A treaty of amity and alliance between the Company and Maha raja Kirat Singh of Dholpur was concluded on January 29, 1804 The Company guaranteed protection to Dholpur and the Maharaja on his part agreed to submit to the Company s Government the cause of dispute or any misunderstanding between him and any other Chieftain for amicable settlement [4] By another treaty of January 10, 1806 Dholpur Maharaja was exempted 'from all orders of the Company or other demands of the Honourable Company and was free for 'adjusting all disputes which may arise either external or internal '[5] Raja Harbaksh Pal of Karauli acknowledged British supremacy under the treaty of November 9 1817 and agreed not 'to enter into negotiations with any one without the consent of the British Government' [6] The Company on its part guaranteed protection of the dominions of the Raja This was the first phase in the political relationship between the Company and the Eastern Rajputana States It marked the beginning of the penetration of the Company s authority in the internal affairs of Eastern Rajputana States

Policy of Active Intervention

The Company during this period tried to follow as far as possible the policy of subordinate isolation It abandoned the policy of non intervention in the affairs of the Native States Subsequent events showed that Lord Hastings gave up 'the empty professions of non interference which Parliament had preached [7] The treaties concluded by him with the Eastern Rajputana States clearly asserted the sovereignty of the British Government, complete subordination of the Princes British protection and absolute prohibition of any connections with other Chiefs [8] The British Government treated Native States as feudatory or subordinate States To insist that no

succession was valid in an Indian State without the prior sanc tion of the British to coerce an Indian Ruler to maintain a particular minister against his will, to send troops to a State on the outbreak or mere possibility of disorder, and to use these opportunities to wring more concessions from the helpless Rulers[9] were some of the instances which could only be ex plained not by rights or obligations of a protecting State, but by the aggressive designs of an imperial power

The Company though agreed not to interfere with Alwar, but during the succession dispute in 1826 it despatched forces against Banni Singh the Ruler of Alwar [10] In 1825 the war of succession between Balwant Singh minor son of Baldeo Singh and Durjan Sal, uncle of Balwant Singh, broke out for the gaddi of Bharatpur Durjan Sal forcibly took the reins of government and arrested Balwant Singh When negotiations with Durjan Sal failed Combermore was sent to Bharatpur with an army of 25 000 men He captured the fort on January 18 1826 Its capture atonce put an end to the incipient conspiracies of which the native courts had been full [11] Durjan Sal was deported to Allahabad and the authority of Balwant Singh was established in succession under the regency of his mother and the superintendence of a Political Agent [12] Colonel Lockett was appointed as the Political Agent of the State In September 1826 H r Highness Imrat Kaur who had shown disposition towards intrigues was removed and a Council of Regency of State ministers was formed In 1848 the Company withheld the recognition of Nar Singh Pal, an adopted minor son of Partab Pal of Karauli for non payment of State debts and appointed Monck Mason as Agent for administering the affairs of the State [13] The British interven tion was not confined to this ex ent but it went beyond that Nar Singh Pal had adopted Bharat Pal, a distant kinsman a day before his death on July 10 1852, but Lord Dalhousie (1848 1857) while disapproving the adoption recommended to the Court of Directors for the annexation of the State with

some reservations[14] The Court of Directors, however, held Karauli as a protected ally and recognised the adoption It could thus be asserted that during the second phase the authority of the Company was considerably enhanced and it started actively interfering in the affairs of Eastern Rajputana States Politically weak and economically crippled the Eastern Rajputana States had no alternative but to accept such interference

The Rulers of Eastern Rajputan States on their part responded to the call of British authority and gave valuable support at a time when it was needed most At the time of Mutiny Maharaja Madan Pal of Karauli drove out of his territory the fugitives of the Gwalior force, sent a strong detachment for the rescue of Maharao of Kotah and levies to Agra for British assistance During the hours of crisis Maharaja Bhagwant Singh of Dholpur also gave sufficient proof of his unflinching sincerity by 'casting his lot with his overlord[15] When the Gwalior contingent mutineed on June 14, 1857 and mercilessly assassinated some of the British officers and their families a large number of Britishers took shelter in Dholpur and to quote Mrs Coupland from her personal narratives A Lady's escape from Gwalior many of them came through Dholpur country the Raja of which was prodigal in his attentions and his provisions of conveyance and escort '[16] For his valuable services Maharaja Bhagwant Singh was made the Grand Commander of the Star of India in 1869 The State of Alwar also assisted the British Government by despatching a contingent of 880 infantry, 400 cavalry and four guns to Agra The outbreak of 1857 was however, crushed by the British authorities with the active support and assistance of the Native Rulers

Policy of Subordinate Union

The end of Mutiny also marked the end of Company's rule in India The Indian administration now came under the direct control of the British Crown The historic Procla

mation of Queen Victoria was made on November 1 1858 It marked the beginning of a dual policy of conciliation and friendship on the one hand, and a process of gradual weakening of the Indian States on the other [17] The Proclamation assured the Indian Princes that all 'treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously main tained The Proclamation also assured that the Crown had no desire to extend its territorial possessions and that 'the rights dignity and honour of the Native Princes would be maintained undiminished It was thus a repudiation of the policy of annexation and the doctrine of lapse The other side of the dual policy was the enunciation of the theory of 'One Charge', that is, the British India and Indian India constituted in effect one political unit Lord Canning (1857 62) had declared in 1862, 'the Crown of England stands forth the unquestioned Ruler and Paramount Power in India [18] This theory of 'One Charge' transformed the Indian Princes who had fought and negotiated on terms of equality with the Company into mere feudatories' The theory also gave rise to a new sense of responsibility to the British Government The Government now had the right of intervention in the internal affairs of the States if it deemed fit In a minute of 1860 Lord Canning made it clear that the Proclamation, 'will not debar the Government of India from stepping into set right such serious abuses in a Native Government as may threaten any part of the country with anarchy or disturbance, nor from assuming temporary charge of a Native State when there will be sufficient reason to do so Neither will the assurance diminish our right to visit a State with the highest penalties, even confiscation, in event of disloyalty or flagrant breach of engagement [19] Lord Canning while granting Sanad of Adoption to about 160 States in 1862 also cautioned the Princes that they should be 'loyal to the Crown and faithful to the conditions of the treaties, grants and engagements which record its obligations to the British Government

This conclusively proved that the existence of the Native States depended upon the judgment and will of the Suzerain Power and there was no limit to British authority over the Princes of India The Princes, on the other hand were bound by restrictions in every sphere Professor Westlake while describing the restrictions and limitations of the Native Rulers said, "They (Native Princes) have no official intercourse either with one another or with any power outside the Empire They cannot even send representatives to Calcutta (then capital of British India), but must communicate with the British Government through the British representatives at their courts When it is necessary to establish a course of extradition or any other dealings between two of them, each has to make an agreement with the British Government to that effect They cannot unite in any representation to the Government of India even when having identical interests on any question, but each must approach separately Not only can they not receive for themselves even the commercial agents from foreign States, they have no direct communication with consuls or commercial agents accredited by foreign States to the Government of India They are precluded from receiving foreign decorations or even academic distinctions except through the British Government and from conferring any honours or privileges on any person but *their own subjects They cannot employ* Europeans or Americans without the consent of the British Government'[20] Dealings between one State and another were to be conducted by the British Government If a boundary was to be adjusted or a joint action taken to complete a line of railway or canal the British Government was to arrange the business and its arrangement was binding upon the parties concerned As the Paramount Power was responsible to defend the States from external aggression and internal insurrection the Government of India here also imposed certain restrictions viz the Rulers would keep limited number of forces armament *and equipment Posts in the interior would not to be forti*fied factories for the production of guns and ammunition would

not be established, nor subjects of other States would be enlisted in the local forces They were also not permitted to purchase property for themselves in British India except with the per mission of the Government Further, with regard to properties acquired at hill stations and presidency towns they would not effect any transfer and create any encumbrance without the approval of the Government of India This policy of segrega ting the States was probably evolved to frustrate any effort of combination against the British Government

The Government of India employed various agencies for controling and interfering the affairs of Indian States viz Residents, Political Agents or Agents to the Governor General, nominated Dewans and British officials on important posts in the States The presence of a political officer in State to a great extent effected the authority of the Chief During the minority of a Ruler, administration passed into the hands of the Resident or political officer appointed for the purpose He worked as the sole administrator or the President of the Council of administration, or failing these two alternatives other arrangements were made for the State to be run under his supervision and guidance Thus, during minority, the poli tical officer had a dual capacity, viz, the representative or diplomatic agent of the British Government and the sole administrator acting in the interest and on behalf of the Ruler With such authority the political officer ceased to be any lon ger mere intermediary between two parties in alliance They were the dictators in States and the repository of almost unique powers Even during normal times the British Resident ex ercised enormous influence over State administration It had been said 'The whisper of the Residency became the thunder of the State' [21] The Residents accredited to States of Rajputana worked under the control and guidance of the Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana who was to look after the interests of the Imperial Government

Eastern Rajputana States were not spared from the appo intments of political officers by the British Government **During**

the minority of Maharaja Nihal Singh (1874 83) of Dholpur the administration was under the control of Major Dennehy, Additional Political Agent [22] Again, when Maharaja Ram Singh succeeded in 1901, the administration remained under the supervision of the Political Agent till 1905 Even during the rein of Maharaja Udai Bhan Singh (1911 48) the British officer administered the affairs of Dholpur State from 1911 to 1913 When in 1870 there was a rebellion in Alwar, Lord Mayo superseded the Raja's authority by a board of manage ment with the British Agent as the President [23] Sheodan Singh was divested of powers and a sum of Rs 15,000/ per month was fixed for his personal expenditure So also during the minority of Mangal Singh, the State was administered by a council presided over by the Political Agent This State of affair continued for three years when the Chief was invested with full powers of administration in 1877 In Bharatpur, Ram Singh who succeeded his father Jaswant Singh on December 12, 1893 was deprived of all powers in consequence of his intemperate habits in 1895 and deported to Deoli in Rajputana [24] The administration remained under the control of Political Agent till August 27 1900 when Kishan Singh the minor son of Ram Singh was recognised as the Chief During his minority also the administration remained under the supervision of the Political Agent

In spite of all restrictions and limitations imposod by the Paramount Power from time to time the Rulers of Eastern Rajputana States co operated with the British Government In 1866 Dholpur Darbar gave land to the Government for railway purposes free of cost ceding all jurisdiction and claim over such land Alwar ceded to the British Government full and exclu sive power over land occupied by the Rewari—Phulera Chord Railway on July 10 1904 Karauli also ceded land free of charge for construction of Nagda Mathura Railway in 1904 In 1868 States of Dholpur and Karauli concluded treaties of extradition with the Government for mutual delivery of offen ders charged with certain offences During 1879 82 the States of

Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli agreed for suppression of salt manufacturing in their States, prevention of import of salt except that on which British duty was levied and of export of intoxicating drugs Alwar was the first State in Rajputana to aceept the Imperial coinage in 1904 Karauli Darbar in troduced British currency in the State in 1906 Bharatpur Rulers had also placed their State resources and the army at the disposal of the Imperial Government whenever it was needed The Bharatpur Service Transport Corps served in Somaliland in 1903

The Imperial theory reached its apogee in the time of Lord Curzon whose viceroyalty (1898 1905) was the culmina tion of the claims of imperialism For him the Princes were merely the agents of the Crown in the administration of their territory, and that they had no inherent rights of their own The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallanged It had itself laid down the limitations of its own prerogatives',[25] declared the Viceroy at the installation of the Nawab of Bhawalpur His attitude of control could be seen in many ways The Princes were asked not to use red liveries They were not permitted to leave their States without permission ticket of leave, as one Prince called it The warning that the Prince 'must be the servant as well as the master of his people and that 'his internal administration in only exempt from cor rection in proportion as it is honest, and that his 'gaddi is not intended to be a 'divan' of indulgence, but a stern seat of duty [26] reflected the subordinate position of an Indian Prince

Policy of co-operation

Lord Minto initiated a change in the British policy His viceroyalty (1905 11) was an interval of reduced pressure after the tempestuous excitement of Lord Curzon's regime He inaugurated the practice of consulting the Indian Princes on matters affecting the welfare of India as a whole, of the Pro vinces as well as the States and thus indirectly helped to create a sense of unity of interest among the Princes which had pre-

viously been non existent His administration saw the enunciation of a new policy of trust and co operation He fully realised that the right policy towards the States was that of strengthening their hands and leaving them to evolve political systems suited to the r own conditions [27] The growth of national movement in British India further alarmed him and he saw in Princes a strong bulwark against subversive movements He took counsel with them and had 'sown the seeds of the association of Indian States in the general policy of the Empire [28] Lord Minto thus left the Princes of India in a happier frame of mind than ever before

His policy paid dividends during the World War I when at its outbreak the Princes declared their support with men and money to the cause of the British Government Like other Indian States the Rulers of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli placed their services and resources at the disposal of the Imperial Government They sent recruits, subscribed heavy amounts towards War Fund and promulgated all important ordinances and proclamations issued by the Government Bharatpur armies served at various fronts in France Egypt the Dardenelles, Salonica, Masopotamia, Palestine and in East Africa It also served in the North West Frontiers of India in 1919 The loyalty of the Princes was so assured that the State forces instead of being looked upon as a source of possible danger, were regarded as useful allies

In the early post World War I period one could trace a growing liberal outlook in the policy of the British Government towards the Indian Princes The Chamber of Princes with a Standing Committee was set up by the Royal Proclamation on February 8 1921 for 'securing the expression of their collective opinion and providing opportunities for counsel and consultation in matters of common concern of India as a whole The Duke of Connaught inaugurated it The Chamber formed the basis of a system for joint deliberations between British India and Indian States The Princes thus secured something far more important than was at that time realised—full official

recognition of their right to consult with each other It was a 'great and far reaching event'[29] for it meant that the Para mount Power had abandoned its policy of isolating the States and that it welcomed their co-operation Maharaja Jey Singh (1892 1933) of Alwar was one of the four ruling princes selected to draft the constitution of the Chamber of Princes and to dis cuss it with Montagu, ex Secretary of State for India and Lord Chelmsford, ex Vicerory of India He acted as the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes for eight months in the year 1929 It was at his instance that Narandra Mandal was accepted as the vernacular version of the Chamber[30] The Chamber, of course, had certain shortcomings It did not represent smaller States adequately and as a protest Maharaja Udai Bhan Singh (1911 48) of Dholpur together with the Chiefs of Panna and Dewas (Junior) resigned from the five member Standing Com mittee of the Chamber in 1933[31] The appointment of the Butler Committee in 1928 to enquire into the relationship between the Indian States and the Paramount Power, and invit ing the Princes at the Round Table Conferences were further proofs of liberal policy of the Government At the two Round Table Conferences of 1930 and 1931 Maharaja Udai Bhan Singh represented the Indian Princes where he worked with 'lofty sense of duty which required no recompense and coveted no applause[32]

The policy of co operation did not in any way reduce the suzerainty of the Imperial Government Her policy was not static and uniform It changed as exigencies arose and the British interests demanded It could be substantiated by the episodes of Bharatpur and Alwar Maharaja Kishan Singh had been loyal to the British Government from the very beginning He had placed all his resources and the army at the disposal of the Imperial Government as and when demanded In spite of his devout allegiance the Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana conveyed through his letter of November 10 1927 'the finances of the Bharatpur State have been reduced by your Highness continual extra

vagance to a condition of chaos and the administration of the State paralysed [33] The letter further stated that the Govern ment of India have decide to appoint a commission to investi gate into the conditions of the State During the period of inquiry the Maharaja was required to reside outside the limits of the State and to hand over the administration to an officer appointed by the Government [34] The Maharaja being help less could only submit a note of protest The British Govern ment appointed P G Mackenzie as Dewan of Bharatpur with full financial and administrative powers Dewan immediately on taking charge dissolved the municipalities, deported the loyalists and divested the Maharaja of all powers

The most sensational event of the twentieth century in the political history of Indian States was the exile of Maharaja Jey Singh of Alwar in 1933 He was accused of 'past misrule depleted state of finances non co-operation with the Paramount Power s authority and 'the conditions which led to the disturbances in the State' [35] Maharaja was given 24 hours notice and was compelled to leave Alwar on May 22 1933 for a period of two years He went to London to seek 'fair play and christian justice' [36] The intervention of the Government of India reached its apogee in September 1935 when on the allegation of past misrule' and the damage therefrom which the Government proposed to rectify by keeping the Maharaja in exile for fifteen years was announced by Col Ogilvie, Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana [37]

The displeasing feature of the affair was the official communique charging the Maharaja in vague terms If it meant systematic maladministration, it could well be asked why steps were not taken to check it by the Political Depart ment earlier? If the reference was to the disturbances caused by the Meos in 1933 then also the Maharaja was not respons ible, as he had informed the British Government two years ago of the 'expected trouble in the State [38] Allegation of past misrule' also some how does not fit in with the pronouncement of the same Col Ogilvie at a banquet given in his honour

on November 24, 1932 just a few months before the Maharaja was asked to undertake a trip to Europe While paying tributes to Maharaja Jey Singh he said, "Your Highness is always ready and eager to mitigate all legitimate grievances of your subjects Your statesmanship and your well known impartial solicitude for the welfare of your people, whatever may be their caste and creed, have had the tranquillizing effect Your Highness has done and will continue to do everything in your power to keep every subject of your State in a condition of happy contentment" [39]

The 'National Call' daily, surprisingly enough, had stated prior to the banishment of the Maharaja that 'a British official would be appointed Prime Minister and that the Maharaja would be asked to go abroad for at least two years' When incident occurred it testified to the fact that some other forces were working behind the deposition and exile of the Ruler In an interview with the correspondent of the London 'Daily Express' at Paris, Maharaja said, "I was told to dismiss my Prime Minister, Girdharilal, who had been with me for thirteen year, and I did They wanted me to nominate Ibbotson as Revenue Officer But as fast as I agreed to the Government propositions just as fast were the conditions changed I was given the ultimatum regarding the appoint ment of Ibbotson "[40] The probable reason for his exile was that he consistently opposed the encroachment of the Political Department in the affairs of his State His sympathies with the national movement and close association with Madan Mohan Malviya had alarmed the Government Besides he had gained much notoriety because of his misdeeds particularly of the Neemuchana massacre However, this was the first time in the records of India that a native prince was banished from his State There had been instances of forced abdication, but never was a prince asked to go and a time limit put on his absence from his own State B S Moonje, the then President of the Hindu Mahasabha commenting on the episode rightly warned, 'The Government have demonstrated

and no demonstration could have been more dramatically impressive and effective in its results that the paramountcy of the British Government is virile in mischief in the States If there be one particular lesson, above any thing else, that our princes have to take to heart it is that their conception of internal overeignty is a pure myth and that it is futile to hope for protection from the Paramount Power Treaties are mere scraps of paper [41]

Then came the All India Federation scheme in 1935 whose implementation to a great extent depended upon the co operation of the Rulers Some of the Rulers including Maharaja Udai Bhan Singh of Dholpur supported the scheme He believed that the 'interest of India would be best served by keeping perpetual commradeship on honourable terms with Great Britain [42] Rulers however decided not to join the Federation and their non co-operation apart from the policy of the Congress and the Muslim League torpedoed the Federal scheme

On the declaration of World War II the Rulers of Alwar, Bharatpur Dholpur and Karauli again gave proof of their loyalty by placing their resources at the disposal of the British Government Maharaja Udai Bhan Singh of Dholpur on July 25 1940 at Trivendrum declared 'The Indian States will never be found wanting in aiding the King Emperor and the Empire however heavy the sacrifices that might be called to make [43] Maharaja Tej Singh of Alwar while addressing the Alwar Jey Paltan on January 19 1940 in the same vein said Once again the call of loyalty and duty in a grave crisis has come to all I offer to place in accordance with our treaty obligations the resources of my State at the disposal of His Imperial Majesty [44] Brijendra Singh of Bharatpur also placed all his resources of men and money at the disposal of the Imperial Government Various committees were formed for collecting voluntary contributions for the War Fund entertain ments and performances in aid of the War Fund were organised War Fund Lotteries were started and gold and silver ornaments

were donated The total State contribution for the War Fund, however, amounted to Rs 4,62,415/ Certain other investments in the form of prize bonds, victory bonds and saving certificates amounting to Rs 41 47,800/ were also made In adition, a recurring contribution of Rs 1000/ per month was paid out of the State treasury from the beginning of the War to the end of October, 1945 The magnificent palace at Sewar and Kothi Kandhari of Agra were given to the British Government for use during the War The Alwar Jey Paltan served the cause of the allies for five years abroad at various fronts The State in addition to huge contributions for the War Fund enlisted 14 000 recruits for the Indian Army Immediately on receipt of the Political Agent s letter of June 11 1940 of the declaration of war against Italy, Maharaja Bhom Pal of Karauli also placed his State resources at the disposal of the Imperial Government for the successful prosecution of war His Majesty George VI in his massage of March 13, 1941 while acknowledging the generosity of the Indian Princes said ' for throughout 18 hard and anxious months, the help of the Princes and the people of India has been generous and unfailing The loyalty of the Indian Princes to their King Emperor, on which I know that I can rely even more surely in the hour of trial, has never been more openly displayed From the Provinces of India and the Indian States has flowed a constant and invaluable stream of men money and material to swell the rising flood of the Empire's war resources I thank the Princes and the people of India from my heart for their noble response and for their kind sympathy [45]

During and after World War II, the political and constitutional events in India moved very fast The political events were heading towards the independence of the country The Princes, on the other hand, were sensitive to the idea of constitutional changes including the demand for Indian independence They were of the opinion that the Indian States were entitled to have clear and definite voice in the matter They asserted that not only did they constitute one third of India in

area and over one fourth in population, but they had also entered into definite treaty obligations with the British Government Indian Rulers wanted that treaties and promises entered into and reaffirmed several times should not be overlooked before any fundamental change that affected the position of the States was made Viceroy, Lord Wavell on January 17, 1946 at the annual session of the Chamber of Princes while assuring the Princes said, 'I can assure you that there is no intention on our part to initiate any change in this relationship or these rights without your consent'[46] The British Government was reluctant to break treaties and the only saving device in the political circumstances of 1947 was to leave the States sovereign independent and free to decide their future course This was duly incorporated in the Indian Independence Act of 1947, which laid down the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses and with it, all treaties and agreements in force, all obligations powers, *rights authority or jurisdiction exercisable* by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise' Thus with the lapse of British paramountcy the Indian States claimed to have become overeign and independent But none of the Indian States had sovereign rights in the full sense of the term, nor did they have individually the necessary resources to claim or enjoy the attributes of a sovereign independent power However, the political circumstances of the country, geographical compulsions, democratic upsurge among the people of the States and the patriotic co operation of the Rulers made integration and transfer of power to the people smooth and peaceful

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revolt Claims for Rs 2 23 195/ being the cost of expedition were preferred against the Alwar Darbar

36 Maharaja in an interview with the correspondent of London Daily Express at Paris while explaining the reason of his visit to London said, I am not going to London to fight the mighty British Empire I am not going to fight there the King Emperor because there is not a more loyal person than myself I am going because I want to obtain fair play and christian justice

37 The announcement read : The scheme for relieving Alwar State of its indebtedness will necessitate the continuance of Government con trol for at least fifteen years and the Government of India can see no prospect of the Maharaja's return to Alwar within that period The Statesman September 28 1935

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government of the States, the Rulers could have expected them to share their anxieties also Moonje in 1933 had rightly said, 'their salvation lies in transferring sovereignty to their people from whom they had originally inherited, so that in emergencies the mass of people may offer a check to the Paramount Power which a Prince single handed is incapable of doing [5]

Some of the progressive Rulers of India introduced representative institutions in their States but their approach was half hearted and the advance in the direction of constitutional reforms was halting and tardy [6] Representative Assemblies and Councils were 'consulted more as a matter of courtesy than of right and their decisions were not binding on the Rulers The position was that 'in most cases autocracy continued unmasked and in a few States it was covered by a thin veneer of democratic facade [7] It is true that democratic institutions in the States did not get sufficient opportunity and time to take root For generations the people in States had been fed on cliches such as 'democracy is a slow growing plant and 'States must not import from outside a single mass produced constitution' [8] But the Rulers failed to realise that their ultimate security lies in keeping pace with the changing time Chintamani as early as 1930 had warned the Indian Princes, What the intelligentsia think today the masses will think tomorrow and when the former are despised or disregarded the latter will give a rude awakening to autocracies one disturbed morning' [9]

The negative attitude of the Paramount Power was also greatly responsible for this state of political stagnancy in the States The Imperial Government believed that the engagements of the Crown had been with the Rulers and not with the people Proceeding on this ground the Paramount Power ignored all political movements and organisations in the States The Butler Committee took no notice of the States People s Conference and at the Round Table Conferences only the Rulers and their representatives were invited Under the Government

of India Act 1935 the demand of the Rulers that the States should be represented on the federal legislature by their nominees and not by elected representatives of the people was also conceded. Further, because of their security against external aggression and internal insurrection the Rulers showed no incentive to introduce representative institutions in their States and part with their authority.

On the other hand growth of democratic institutions in British provinces and the desire to enjoy rights similar to those that were being enjoyed by their brethren in British India and eagerness to march hand in hand with them in the race of progress had stirred the hearts of the people of the Native States. Even constitutional authority like Keith had admitted 'the Paramount Power having decided that it is proper that the people of British India should be encouraged to exercise political power, cannot logically maintain the view that the Indian States should deny their subjects the right to advance in political status.' Non co-operation Movement launched by the Congress in 1920 also spread a wave of enthusiasm among them to follow the example of their brethren living in British India. Further the refusal of the Congress to be drawn directly in the States people's grievances impelled them to stand on their own feet. Native subjects were now convinced that the struggle for responsible government and civil liberties in the States would have to be conducted by themselves. The first session of the All India States People's Conference held on December 17, 1927 in Bombay accelerated the movement. It brought on surface the popular demand for responsible government and civil liberties in States. The conference deputed Manik Lal Kothari and B S Pathik to contact Congress leaders and secure the active support of that organisation for he States people's demand. As a result of this the Madras Congress Session in December 1927 adopted for the first time a resolution endorsing the demand of the States' people for responsible government. Congress offices were then opened in States. Finally, the resolution

adopted at the Haripura Congress Session of 1938 encouraged the native subjects to start movement for responsible government in their respective States zealously[11] As a result, the Praja Mandals and Praja Parishads were formed in States They operated as wings of the All India States' People s Conference Apart from the socio-economic programme, their aim was to achieve 'responsible government under the aegis of the respective Rulers' In 1930 Gandhiji had declared "The people of States are paymasters and the Princes and the officials are their servants, who have to do the will of their master I would urge the people in the States to hasten slowly Swaraj is for the awakened and not for the sleepy and ignorant the existence of this gigantic autocracy is the greatest disproof of British democracy and is a credit neither to the Princes nor to the unhappy people who have to live under this undiluted autocracy and it is perhaps, the greatest blot on British rule in India But we are too near the event to realize the falsity called 'Princes India or 'Indian India' The system will break under its own intolerable weight' [12]

Alwar

The active interest of the Congress after Haripura session intensified the struggle for civil liberties within the States and the Eastern Rajputana States did not remain behind in it also With the object of mobilising public opinion for achieving responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja ,[13] the Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal was founded in 1938 Hari Narayan Sharma and Kunj Behari Lal Modi were its founder members The Praja Mandal applied for its registration under the Registration of Public Association Act [14] But the registration was denied because its aims and objects did not satisfy the State authorities [15] The Government wanted that the words the progressive association of the people with the administration of the State [16] be incorporated in the constitution of the Praja Mandal to which it refused to do The unregistered body therefore organised meetings and criticised the adminis

tration This made the government panicky A large number of political workers were arrested under the Seditious Meetings Act C Krishnan Nair, General Secretary of Delhi Provincial Congress Committee was sent to study the situation While in Alwar Nair wanted to meet the under trials but he was not permitted for it[17] Jai Narain Vyas General Secretary, All India States People s Conference also went to Alwar but was ordered by the government to leave the State[18] As a protest against the State's refusal to hold trial in an open court and permission to engage defence counsels and also against bar-fetters put around their legs all the political prisioners went on hunger strike[19] but it had no effect upon the autocratic government and the prisoners were tried in camera Laxman Swaroop Tripathi, Pradhan Alwar Congress Committee Hari Narayan Sharma Secretary Praja Mandal Radha Charan Gupta, Secretary Congress Committee and Inder Singh Azad were sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment while Nathuram Modi was sentenced to one year imprisonment[20] Repressive policy of the government created a tense atmosphere in the State and Hari Bhau Upadhyaya a veteran Congress leader was deputed on a fact finding mission[21]

In September 1939 the State authorities announced to introduce elected Municipal Board in Alwar from April 1940 The announcement gave to the people of Alwar city an opportunity of electing members for the first time[22] Elections were held in July The Praja Mandal, being an unregistered body, could not contest but it supported certain candidates Out of a total of 18 elected members, 15 were sympathisers of Praja Mandal, 2 independents, and one represented Anjuman i Islam.[23] Laxman Swaroop Tripathi was elected as the first President of the Alwar Municipal Board[24]

On May 14, 1940 the Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal again applied for registration[25] Harvey, then Prime Minister reiterated that the aim of the Mandal should be 'the progressive association of the people with the administration of the State'[26]

The Mandal rejected the terms on the ground that it stood for 'responsible grovernment'[27] As a result, the negotiations were stalled Ultimately the Praja Mandal accepted the terms of the Government and got it registered on August 1, 1940 with its modified aim of 'the progre sive association of the people with the adminustration of the State[28] The State recognised the right of the Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal 'to educate popular opinion, ventilate the people's aspirations and requirements with a view to ameliorate their moral, social and economic condition, and to represent their grievances to His Highness Government in a constitutional manner'[29] While recognising the Mandal the State Government had imposed a restriction that it would not use any flag whatsoever[30]

In the later half of 1940 the Praja Mandal started agitation against the compulsory contribution for the War Fund With the result, Hari Narayan Sharma and Master Bhola Nath, President and Vice President of the Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal respectively were arrested and prosecuted[31] under the Defence of India Rules for their anti war activites on November 13, 1940 Quit India movement of August 1942 in British provinces gave an impetus to the State Praja Mandal to launch a Satyagrah campaign for responsible government in Alwar A number of demonstrations and picketings took place and even some advocates including Shobha Ram and Kirpa Dayal Mathur left their practice to press their demand for the establishment of responsible government[32] A conference of the workers of Rajputana and Central India was also convened by Master Bhola Nath in Girdhar Ashram at Alwar to find out ways and means for implementing the programme of the movement Regional councils were accordingly formed The Government took a serious view of it and arrested leaders *including Mater Bhola Nath and Kunj Behari Lal Modi*

The Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal held its first conference in Khairthal Dharamshala at Alwar on January 16 and 17, 1944 under the presidentship of Bhawani Shanker Sharma The conference was inauguarated by Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi,

a veteran leader of the Bharatpur Rajya Praja Parishad The president condemned the Government for its wilful neglect in introducing constitutional reforms in the State 'People, he said, 'are losing patient and they demand some thing constructive and substantial' The conference adopted a resolution that 'in spite of repeated demands for constitutional reforms from the people in the State no step has been taken so far The horrors of the present war have brought home the importance of increasing association of the people in the administration Even the declared policy of the State—the progressive association of the people with the administration of the State—has not been carried out in practice Now the time has come when immediate steps should be taken towards the establishment of responsible government His Highness should be liberal enough to introduce constitutional reforms and thus recognise the birth right of the people This conference believes that these reforms would be based on true principles of democracy'[33] On the second day of the conference, 15 resolutions including grant of proprietory rights to peasants in agricultural and abadi land in the Jagir Muafi villages of the State, abolition of chowkidari tax, removal of tax on export of local products proper supply of kerosene oil and sugar, more schools and hospitals were adopted

Rajputana States' Political Worker's Association held its first session at Alwar on December 3 4 and 5, 1944 with an object to constitute a central body to control and supervise all the Praja Mandals in Rajputana States and to activate the cause of civil liberties and responsible government[34] The session was presided by Kunj Behari Lal Modi Prominent leaders of Rajputana and Central India including Jai Narain *Vyas Manik Lal Verma, Hira Lal Shastri, Raj Bahadur*, Adityendra, Sumnesh Joshi, Gopi Krishna Vijavargiya, Sardar Harlal Singh and Ram Karan Joshi attend it[35] During the year 1945 there appeared lull in the State

In February 1946, Praja Mandal launched agitation for responsible government The State thereupon arrested a number

of political workers including Shoba Ram Ramji Lal Agarwal, Kunj Behari Lal Modi, Hari Narayan Sharma, Kirpa Dayal Mathur Badri Prasad Gupta, Bhola Nath and Kashiram under the Alwar State Preventive Detention Act [36] In June 1946, Alwar Praja Mandal started agitation for the grant of pro prietory rights to peasants in agricultural and abadi land in the Jagir Muafi villages A meeting was organised at Kheda Mangal Singh village and was attended by thousands of peasants The State police disturbed the meeting and arrested prominent workers including Bhawani Sahai Sharma, Master Bhola Nath Hari Narayan Sharma Kashi Ram Gupta Ram Chandra Upadhyaya, Ghasi Ram Gupta, Laxmi Narayan Khendelwal and Dr Shanti Swaroop In protest to the mass arrest complete hartal was observed in Alwar for three days The Government with the result had to release all the workers [37] On August 12 1946 Satyagrah movement was launched for establishment of responsible government in the State A large number of workers including Master Bhola Nath Kunj Behari Lal Modi, Inder Singh Azad, Bhawani Sahai Sharma Shobha Ram and Kashi Ram Gupta were arrested on August 26, 1946 But the agitation was withdrawn on September 2 1946 on the advice of Jawahar Lal Nehru [38]

Pressed by political turbulence and the upsurge among the people, His Highness issued Farman i Shahi on October 3, 1946 The announcement read ' It has been our cherished desire to associate our people, in progressive measures with our Govern ment Unforeseen circumstances prevented till now, the annou ncement in public, of this desire We are happy on this auspici ous day to make this announcement with the ultimate object of setting up popular government, pace of which will depend upon the qualities that you our beloved people bring to the task With a view to implement this decision we hereby anno- unce the formation of a Committee of four officials and eight non officials to submit proposals for our consideration [39] Accor dingly a Committee of four officials and eight non officials was constituted Eight non official members included two represen

tatives of the Praja Mandal, one each of the Muslim Conference, Jagirdars, Muafidars, Hindu Mahasabha, agriculturists and the Meo Panchayat[40] The Committee was required to submit its views on the constitution of legislature representation of various interests method of election, franchise, and powers and functions of the legislature Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal was not happy over the terms of reference of the Committee and condemned it on the ground that the announcement does not at all show a desire on the part of Government to transfer real power to the people[41] The Working Committee of the Praja Mandal at its meeting of October 23 1946 adopted ten resolutions and submitted them to His Highness but the Government paid no heed to them In November the Mandal, therefore, decided not to participate in the Committee of Constitutional Reforms and started making preparations to launch Satyagrah if responsible government was not granted exactly to their likings A Satyagrah training camp was organised at Padmara village from December 25 to 31 1946 and trained about 70 villagers in non violent methods[42] The Chief of Nimrana al o attended the camp The meeting of December 31 1946 was attended by about 8 000 villagers and the Praja Mandalists exhorted the audience to render necessary assistance when Satyagrah starts

On January 25 1947 a deputation of Messrs Shobha Ram Ramji Lal Agarwal and Ram Chandra Upadhyaya met the Prime Minister of Alwar and apprised him of the reasons for non co-operation of the M ndal in the Committee of Constitutional Reforms They demanded that (i) the Reforms Committee should be called upon to frame a constitution for the government of the State and it should not be merely an advi ory body, (ii) some broad principles should be settled so that it might be definitely known what powers the legislature would have and how far the people were going to be associated with the future government, and (iii) there should be, for the interim period some popular ministry[43]

Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal in its resolution of April 27, 1947 reiterated the demand for setting up of a Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution for the State Again on May 19, 1947, Secretary of the Praja Mandal submitted a memorandum of 'Minimum Demands' to the Prime Minister [41] The memorandum read

1 A sovereign Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of adult franchise should be set up for framing a constitution for establishing responsible government in Alwar State The Assembly should consists of eleven members one from each Nizamat, and one from Alwar proper

2 If His Highness Government think, the carrying out of the scheme of Constituent Assembly would take a long time, a committee of eleven members with a majority of Praja Mandalists be set up at an early date to frame the constitution on the following basis

(i) All the members of the Assembly should be elected (ii) There shall be no room for special interests in the Assembly (iii) Adult franchise (iv) No joint electorate (v) The Assembly shall have full powers regarding legislative matters and taxation (vi) There shall be five ministers in the Executive Council who shall be elected by the Assembly

3 In order to carry out any of the two schemes mentioned above effectively, it is necessary for the interim period during which the constitutional reforms do not come into force the present Executive Council should consist of five members of which with the exception of the Prime Minister the ministers should be non official with Praja Mandal majority

In reply to memorandum a Government communique was issued on June 6 1947 that as the setting up of the Constituent Assembly proposed by the Praja Mandal would take enormous t me and would considerably delay the pace of constitutional reforms in the State the Committee appointed in accordance with the announcement of October 3 1946 would start functioning from July 1, 1947 The communique assured

that the nominated block in the legislature would not exceed 10 per cent of the total number of member The communique also asked the parties to submit the names of their representatives by June 20, 1947 But Praja Mandal was not satisfied with the communique and their efforts for responsible government continued unabated However, on December 17, 1947 His Highness at the convocation address of Raj Rishi College, Alwar declared that full responsible government would be established in the State within two years Elections on the basis of adult franchise would be held shortly There would be territorial constituencies and every 20 000 people would elect one member to the Constitutent Assembly which would frame the constitution of the State Till the constitution is framed and promulgated, the Committee appointed in accordance with the announcement of October 3, 1946 would function as Legislative Assembly Meanwhile, the interim ministry would be formed of which at least half the members would be popular ministers [45] In March, 1948 Alwar along with other Eastern Rajputana States formed Matsya Union and with it the agitation for responsible government ended

Bharatpur

In December 1938 a meeting of the prominent political workers of Bharatpur including Rewati Saran Upadhyaya Thakur Deshraj, Krishna Lal Joshi, Adityendra Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi, Gopilal Yadav, Jagan Nath Prasad Kakkar, Baba Dudhadhari and Hukam Chand was held at Rewari wherein the constitution of the Bharatpur Rajya Praja Mandal was drafted The meeting unanimously elected Gopilal Yadav as President Thakur Deshraj and Rewati Saran Upadhyaya as Vice Presidents Krishna Lal Joshi, Secretary Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi, Joint Secretary and Adityendra as Treasurer of the Mandal [46] The newly constituted body applied for the registration but it was denied and banned by the State authorities With the result the President on April 9, 1939 gave an ultimatum threatening to launch a civil disobedience movement if the ban on the Mandal was not withdrawn and repressive laws not repealed

The State Government paid no need to the ultimatum. The Mandal thereupon, started Satyagrah[47] from April 21, 1939 Meetings were organised at Bharatpur, Deeg, Kaman, Nagar and Pahari processions were taken out and speeches condemning the repressive policy of the State were delivered The Mandal concentrated its efforts on withholding the payment of land revenue and creating feelings of hatred against the administration [48] The State Government could not tolerate it and arrested the leaders of the Praja Mandal In the first 'Jetha', Gauri Shankar Mittal Jagan Nath Prasad Kakkar and Hukam Chand were arrested on May 11 1939 and sentenced for eighteen months imprisonment In the second Jetha', Fakir Chand, Rewati Saran and Kalu Ram Vaisha were arrested The agitation continued for eight months and up to the end of the year 600 workers including 32 women had been arrested [49]

This phase came to an end on December 23, 1940 when a settlement was arrived at between the leaders of the Praja Mandal and the Darbar [50] All political prisoners were thereby released The Mandal was registered and recognised with its modified name Bharatpur Rajya Praja Parishad 'to represent the popular grievances to the Darbar with a view to having them redressed to advocate administrative reforms, to educate popular opinion to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the State as a means of preparing the people to undertake such constitutional responsibilities as His Highness may decide to give to them to work for the improvement of the lot of the people in every way, and to work for communal harmony and unity [51] The Parishad started functioning from January 1, 1940

Praja Parishad celebrated the National week from August 27 to September 2 1940 A meeting was organised at Bharatpur *wherein various resolutions including the introduction of* responsible government, elimination of corruption and removal of illiteracy were adopted A copy of the resolution was sent to K P S Menon then Dewan for necessary action But the authorities did not care to implement them

First Political Conference of the Parishad from December 30, 1940 to January 1, 1941 was held at Bharatpur under the presidentship of Jai Narain Vyas [52] The conference reiterated the demand of responsible government in the State Some of the speakers at the conference even pressed for unconstitutional and mendacious propaganda With the result, the General Secretary of the Parishad was prosecuted under section 124(A) of the Indian Penal Code for making a seditious speech and sentenced to one year imprisonment [53]

By August 1942 the activities of the Parishad became increasingly virulent It exploited public grievances arising from the failure of rains rising prices scarcity of essential commodities and compulsory contributions for the War Fund It also gave an ultimum for Satyagrah if their demand for responsible government was not accepted immediately But the State authorities paid no heed to it The Parishad, therefore, having lined up with all India events took the path of unconstitutional agitation Public demonstrations and picketings were organised, seditious speeches made, State officials insulted, forest boundary pillars uprooted and telegraph and telephone wires were cut [54] With the result, prominent leaders including Moti Lal Lakhera, Krishna Lal Joshi, Girdhari Singh, Gauri Shanker Mittal, Ghanshyam Sharma, Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi Rewati Saran Upadhyaya, Roshan Lal Arya, Ramesh Swami, Kalu Ram Vaish Master Adityendra Deshraj Jagpat Singh, Thakur Jewa Ram and Gopi Lal Yadav were arrested under section 126 of the Defence of India Rules [55] But these stern measures failed to curb political turbulence in the State

In order to bring the administration into closer touch with the people and to widen the scope of the old Tehsil Advisory Committee the Government had constituted a Central Advisory Committee of 30 members in February 1939 The Committee aimed at making close association between those 'from whom the income of the State was derived and those who had the duty of spending that amount' [56] The Committee

worked for three years but it failed to satisfy the masses who wanted full responsible government On October 22, 1942 this Committee was replaced by the Brij Jaya Pratinidhi Samiti with increased popular representation enlarged powers and a broader basis of election It consisted of 50 members, out of whom 37 were to be elected and 13 nominated Elections for the Samiti were held in August 1943 and the Praja Parishad captured 27 seats out of the 37 elected members Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi and Master Adityendra were elected as the leader and deputy leader respectively of the opposition party in the Bharatpur Assembly Though the Samiti helped in cultivating political consciousness and in moulding a sound public opinion but its limitations and restrictions left the people discontented and agitation for responsible government continued In April 1945, the Praja Parishad boycotted the Assembly

Bharatpur Rajya Praja Parishad held its second session at Bayana on May 23 and 24 1945 Jai Narain Vyas Secretary, All India Deshi Rajya Praja Parishad in his inaugural address stressed the need for responsible government in Indian States based on adult franchise with full powers to legislate and conduct the affairs of the States [57] In July the Parishad vehemently criticised the food policy of the Government With the result, 18 political workers were arrested Thereupon, the All India States' People s Conference at its Srinagar session of August 8, 1945 held under the presidentship of Jawahar Lal Nehru in a resolution condemned the heavy terms of imprisonment passed on Ali Mohammed President of the Parishad and Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi leader of the opposition party and urged the Maharaja to release all arrested or prosecuted workers

On November 25 1945 the Parishad reiterated its demand of responsible government in the State It also demanded repeal or withdrawal of laws like the Begar Act Ganga Mandir Act and Jama Masjid Act [58] The Parishad gave an ultimatum that if no satisfactory response was received it would launch Satyagrah from December 12 Ali Mohammed President of

the Parishad was invested with full powers to launch the campaign The Government arrested prominent leaders including Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi, Adityendra Raj Bahadur and Ghan Shyam Sharma before the Parishad could start Satyagrah The All India States' Peoples' Conference at Udaipur discussed the issue of the legislative assemblies of Jaipur and Bharatpur on December 25, 1945 Manik Lal Verma Chairman of the Reception Committee in his speech said, 'The State s people are not satisfied with assemblies of the nature of college debating societies They desire assemblies such as would enable them to effect real transfer of power in the hands of popular ministries in place of the present ministries nominated by government'[59] He urged the Maharaja of Bharatpur to fulfil his promise of givii g two seats to people s representatives in his ministry at an early date

Third conference of the Parishad was held at Kaman on December 17 and 18, 1946 Prominent leaders including Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Krishna Dutt Paliwal and Maulvi Hafizur Rehman attended it The conference urged for setting up of a responsible government and abolition of begar system in the State On hearing no satisfactory response from the Government the *Praja Parishad* Kisan Sabha and the Muslim League started anti begar agitation in the first week of January 1947 On January 5, Viceroy, Lord Wavell and Maharaja Sardul Singh of Bikaner who had arrived at the Bharatpur station for duck shooting in Ghana Lake were shown black flags Slogans of 'Sardul Singh Go Back were raised The agitators demanded the release of Jatavs emyloyed as bonded labourers for duck shoot ing Agitators were ordered to disperse and on their refusal were lathi charged Jagan Nath Prasad Kakkar and Ramesh Swami got serious injuries and were hospitalised As a result of this incident complete hartal for 17 days was observed in Bharatpur town Thousands of people collected at the gate of Bharatpur fort and prevented State officials by means of picketing from going to offices and courts On January 15 public meetings were banned for one month and curfew for one week was

imposed.[40] Political workers including Gauri Shanker Mittal, Master Fakir Chand, Kalu Ram Vaish Raj Bahadur and Ali Mohd were arrested for defiance of the orders Adityendra and Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi went underground and directed the agitation Situation in the State became so tense that Jawahar Lal Nehru had to depute Dwarka Nath on a fact finding mission on January 16

Conditions during the next few months had been very fluid in the State The Meos of Bharatpur Alwar and Gurgaon at their meeting in Naugaon demanded the formation of a Mewat State[41] The All India Jat Mahasabha at its meeting on March 15 and 16 1947 asked for the formation of a new Jat province[42] The communal disturbances which broke out in August further perplexed the State authorities Ultimately on October 3 1947 His Highness announced that two persons from the public would be appointed ministers and a draft constitution for the State administration would be prepared by a body of eleven members representing all parties in the State[43] The Praja Parishad was not satisfied with the proposal and continued its agitation for full responsible government Political conditions in the State moved so fast that the Maharaja was compelled to appoint four popular ministers namely, Adityendra, Gopi Lal Yadav, Hari Dutt and Thakur Deshraj on January 1 1948 Commending the achievements of the Bharatpur Rajya Praja Parishad, Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Vice-President All India States People s Conference in a public meeting at Bharatpur said, The days of feudalism are over and those of democracy and people s rule have come In future there will be neither a Jat Raj nor a Rajput Raj but people s Raj [44] The ministry could hardly work for three months when on March 18 1948 the Matsya Union of the erstwhile States of Alwar Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli was constituted

Dholpur

Satyagrah movement for self rule in Dholpur was launched for the first time by Arya Samaj on August 8, 1918 under

the leadership of Swami Shradhanand[66] Prominent Arya Samajists namely, Rao Raja Tej Singh of Jodhpur, Chand Karan Sharda and Gauri Shanker Ojha of Ajmer, Ram Swarup Vaidya and Johri Lal 'Indu of Dholpur, and Salig Ram Vakil of Agra participated in it Dr Mangal Singh, a prominent political worker of Dholpur and a State employee was imprisoned and dismissed from service for his participation in the movement[66] Several other workers were also arrested and severely punished The agitation ended with the death of Swami Shradhanand and it was only in 1936 that Praja Mandal picked up the thread of agitation for self rule in the State

In 1936 the Dholpur Rajya Praja Mandal was founded Krishna Dutt Paliwal and Mool Chand were elected its president and secretary respectively[67] The State authorities could not tolerate the setting up of a political organisation and followed repressive policy It confiscated the entire property of the Mandal Johri Lal 'Indu was arrested on July 18 1937 and banished from the State for his association with the Mandal[68] On July 14, 1938 the Praja Mandal in a memorandum demanded introduction of responsible government in the State, recognition of the Mandal, release of all social and political workers permission to open the branches of the Mandal, freedom to hold public meetings and to observe hartals abolition of professional tax and to hold inquiry of high customs duty[69] But the Government paid no heed to the memorandum

On April 29, 1940 a resolution for the establishment of responsible government in Eastern Rajputana States under the aegis of their respective Rulers was adopted by the Eastern Rajputana States Conference held at Bhandai village[70] It appealed the Rulers to introduce responsible government in their States by conferring a large measure of responsibility on the people for the conduct of administration and securing their increasing association, in keeping with the spirit of the time

The conference urged them to do away with the burden of top heavy administration as a preliminary to the introduction of responsible government Ved Prakash Vidyalankar in his presidential address rightly said while our Princes deserve to the congratulated for pleading moral and material support to Britain in her fight for the championship of human liberty and ideals of democracy Indian Princes seem to forget the cardinal fact that their own position is comprised by main ain ing undiluted autocracy and the evil of one man s rule in *some of the Rajputana States, where the semblance of even* civil rights does not exist in most cases The inviolability and sanctity of treaty rights so often flung on our face whenever the issue of responsible government is mooted is an effete creed The goodwill of the State subjects is the only asset which the Princes should cultivate on which to lay foundations of an enduring structure in any future scheme of government' [71]

The Government on the other hand, pursued repressive policy and enforced The Dholpur Government Servant s Conduct Rules, 1941 Rule 16 of the said Conduct Rules laid down, 'A State servant may not publish in his own name any statement of fact or opinion which may embarrass the relations between His Highness' Government and the State subjects or any section of the State subjects Similarly, it was laid down under Rule 17, 'A State servant shall not take part in, or subscribe in aid of any poltical movement in the State Nor may he attend any public meeting Rule 18 prevented State officials from joining any unlawful society or movement These rules were also applicable to the Jagirdars Muafidars and State grantees In spite of such repressive policy the Dholpur Praja Mandal continued its agitation for responsible govern ment and on November 12 1946 held its session at Tasimo village The session was disturbed by the State police Hissing with fury and brandishing long sticks they hit the head of every Praja Mandalist they came across In the pandal there raged a tumult and a bloody riot Reports of repression were also heard from other parts of the State *It utilized the*

services of hired 'goondas to terrorize the people and did not allow the Praja Mandalist to hoist their flag They looted the houses of innocent agriculturists and insulted the womenfolk At a meeting of the Praja Mandal on December 23, 1946 a resolution decrying the repressive policy of the Government was adopted and a volunteer corps was organised to check such hooliganism [72] The editors of Daily Sanik, Amrit Bazar Patrika and Hindustan visited some of the villages in March 1947 but were soon ordered to quit the State Dr Sitaramayya President, All India States people s Conference also sent a letter to His Highness urging him to inquire into the looting and arson in the State But the Government continued its repressive policy To crush the political sentiments of the people of Tasimo village who had assisted the Praja Mandal in convening a session last year the police opened fire on innocent villagers on April 8, 1947 As a result of this firing two popular leaders, namely, Thakur Chatar Singh and Thakur Pancham Singh died [73] Dr Sitaramayya on April 30, deputed Hira Lal Shastri and Gokul Bhai Bhatt on a fact finding mission

The conditions were so bad in Dholpur that life and property was not safe Corruption and black marketing was rampant Food grains were not available in the market and the rationing system was defective The public was so much hardpressed that strikes and agitations were the only way to express their resentment But the authorities on April 15 1947 declared all strikes unlawful within the State [74] Communal disturbances in August and September months further deteriorated the conditions in Dholpur

In November 1947 the Praja Mandal asked for permission to hold its conference at Dholpur but it was denied [75] On November 11, 1947 District Magistrate, Satgur Prasad banned all public meetings and processions in Dholpur for a period of one month The Mandal in violation of the prohibitory order convened the conference on November 17 and 18, 1947 Shanker Rao Deo General Secretary, All India Congress

forgot that the old unquestioned acceptance of autocratic rule was gradually disappearing Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President in his inaugural speech at the ninth session of the Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal had rightly warned 'The Indian Princes will lose nothing by giving responsible government to their people On the contrary by taking such a step, they may be able to continue their dynastic rule for a long time to come like the King of England But if they do not move with the times, relentless nature will take its own course and they may suffer the same fate as befell the King of France or the Czar of Russia [12] Representative institutions were, of course, established at Alwar and Bharatpur but they suffered from a number of drawbacks The Ruler and his Council of Ministers exercised the real powers A number of significant subjects were kept outside the *purview of these institutions* Real spirit of a democratic legislature was thus non existent So far as Dholpur and Karauli were concerned no democratic institutions were established till their accession to the Indian Dominion and the formation of the Matsya Union The spirit of medievalism reigned supreme both in theory and practice in all the fields of administration Further the attitude of the Rulers towards political activities differed from State to State *For example repression was comparatively mild in Karauli but* in Alwar Bharatpur and Dholpur, the Rulers adopted a policy of ruthless repression and there emerged serious conflicts between the people and the established authority

By the time 'Quit India movement was launched in August 1942 Praja Mandals had come into being in almost all the States of Rajputana Even where there were no formally constituted Praja Mandals, there was political activity During the 'Quit India movement, various Praja Mandals served notice on their Rulers to break all connections with the British Paramount Power and join hands with the people *This led to* a large scale arrests of Praja Mandal workers and some of them even went underground There was also no central leadership and consequently in some States the struggles were prolonged

and in others there were compromises Besides 'the problem in the Indian States was difficult, that the people there had to fight two forces, one their autocratic Rulers and the other, the British authority that backed those Rulers It was thus clear that there could be no deliverance for subjects in States unless the Paramountcy which protected the Rulers was removed'[83] However, one of the greatest contribution of the people s movement in former Princely States was the blending of the minds of the masses in these isolated pockets into stream of national consciousness[84] The movement also played a vital role in amelioration of the peasants and the down trodden in their respective States Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya addressing the All India States' People s Conference at Gwalior on April 18, 1947 rightly said that the time he had looked forward to when the Princes and the people would march not on parallel but on converging lines to the same goal was within sight Let the pomp of royalty and pride of person make room for the sovereignty of the people , who would be 'emancipated from the thraldom of centuries and united by the ideals of the ages[85]

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75. District Magistrate vide his letter No. 314 of Nov. 11, 1947 to the President of the Praja Mandal intimated: "In view of the prevailing inflammatory communal situation an emergency has arisen, wherein if the meeting is held it would endanger the peace and tranquility of this place and therefore I direct you to take note not to hold any conference whatsoever in Dholpur." File No. 16 of 1947-48 Permission to hold Dholpur Praja Mandal Political Conference. R.G.A.

76. Jwala Prasad, Proprietor M/s. Jwala Prasad Om Prakash, Dholpur whose shop was looted and three sons beaten requested Sardar Patel, States Minister, Govt. of India vide his letter of Nov. 17, 1947 to intervene in the affairs of the State. He also gave notice to the Darbar for payment of compensation within three months for his loss of Rs. 19,827-6. Dholpur Praja Mandal File No. 17 of 1947-48.

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Emergence of Matsya Union

The advent of Labour Government in Britain in 1945 opened a new chapter in the political history of India The Labour Government felt itself unequal to carry on the administration of India in the face of political consciousness amongst the people The Government also understood well the implications of the demonstrations in support of the Indian National Army The revolt of the Indian ratings in navy warned the British authorities that the 'loyalty of the Indian contingents could no longer be relied upon in exercise of their irresponsible power over India'[1] Further, Britain's weaker position as a great power in the international set up resulting from the burning of her resources during the two World Wars compelled Britain to withdraw from India Even the British Foreign Minister, Earnest Bevin had admitted in one of his speeches that in the face of 'America's financial imperialism, Communist imperialism and fast changing political conditions of Africa and Asia' it was not possible for India under British control to develop the required strength to fill this power vacuum and it was best for all concerned that Britain's hold over India should go[2] In view of such circumstances, the British Prime Minister, C R Attlee in his momentous announcement on the floor of the House of Commons on February 20, 1947 declared that His Majesty s Government had decided to take necessary steps to effect the transferance of power into responsible hands by a date not later than June 1948[3] The New York 'Herald Tribunal' brought the reasons out behind the announcement 'The British decision to leave India may bring the British more profit Their tenure, it must be granted, would be short under almost any conditions that can now be foreseen By retiring with grace and with expressions of goodwill they may preserve the bulk of their economic interests for

a longer period, provided Indians can create a government stable enough to maintain peace and order "[3] The Congress *interpreted the announcement as a step that had removed all* misconceptions and suspicion J L Nehru hailed the decis on as 'wise and courageous The Muslim League, on the other hand, read into the terms of this announcement a concession of Pakistan' [4]

To implement the decision of His Majesty s Govern ment Lord Mountbatten was appointed as the Viceroy of India who was sworn in office on March 23 1947 The atmosphere at that time was of frustration and di gust in the country The Congress was agitating for complete indepen dence while the Muslim League was dead set against co opera tion with the Congress and wanted the partition of India Jinnah s alternative to 'undivided India was a destroyed India' Immediate improvement in the situation was there fore, an inescapable remedy Lord Mountbatten, thereupon plunged into a series of consultations He started his first round of consultations with Gandhiji from March 31 to April 4, 1947, followed by discussions with Jinnah for the next six days On April 9 and 10 he discussed with the Residents in Native States the problems arising from the cessation of paramountcy in June *1948 He met the Governors of British provinces on* April 15 and 16 1947 All these meetings convinced him that the time limit of June 1948 far from being precipitous, was too remote, unless a settlement was made very soon there was a real danger of total political collapse [5] On May 18, the Victory was called to London to appr e the British Government of the conditions in India and two days after his return the big seven [6] at a conference gave their consent to the plan of partition On June 8 1947 Attlee announced in the House of Commons ' The major political parties have repeatedly emphasized their desire that there should be earliest possible transfer of power in India With this desire His Maj sty s Government are in full sympa thy, and they are willing to anticipate the date of June 1948 for handing over of power by setting up an independent

Government or Governments even at an earlier date"[7] The details of the plan were set forth in a white paper which was published simultaneously in London and New Delhi on June 3 1947

On July 4 the Labour Government piloted the Indian Independence Bill in the House of Commons On the same day the Secretary of State, Lord Listowel in a news conference at the India Office said 'This is a Bill unique in the history of legislation in this country Never before has such a large portion of the world population achieved complete indepen dence through legislation alone'[8] The Bill was passed by both the houses on July 16, 'without a division and with a speed that was unprecedented in parliamentary legislation[9] In the House of Lords, Lord Samuel called the bill as a moral to all future generations, it is a Treaty of Peace without a war[10] The political revolution that started over fifty years back completed, after many ups and downs through the good offices of His Majesty's Labour Government 'When the time came for an agreement between India and England said Nehru 'we parted peacefully and no trail of bitterness was left behind I do not think you will find any example anywhere else of a national movement conducted with so little animus'

India, long politically pregnant, gave birth to twin domi nions of India and Pakistan on August 15, 1947 Country got independence but it was much against the cherished aspirations of the people Mahatma Gandhi the main architect of India s freedom though happy on transfer of power, was more unhappy on the partition of the country It was a major tragedy of his life that having declared that India could only be partitioned on his dead body he lived to see it divided in his life time The circumstances dictated and the wisdom was modified to accept the unpalatable solution The peaceful transfer of power from Britain was, however marred by inter communal bestiality in India that re enacted a million fold the scenes that had witnessed at Calcutta, in Noakhali, in Bihar and in the Punjab Not only valuable properties creative assets mosques and temples were recklessly and ruthlessly destroyed but men,

women and children were indiscriminately killed Worse still, virgin flappers were raped, married women were criminally a saulted and forcibly converted as if sadism and proselytism could be justified by religious sanctions This outburst resulted in the uprooting of millions from their ancestral homes in the Punjab, in Sind in the N W Frontier Province in East Bengal, in Delhi, Alwar and Bharatpur Rabindra Nath Tagore had much earlier anticipated the Indian misery and had prophecied, "The wheels of fate will some day compel the English to give up their Indian Empire But what kind of India will they leave behind what stark misery ! When the stream of their century s administration runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth will they leave behind ! [11] Perhaps it was a cruel verdict when it was uttered by him on April 14, 1941 on his 81st birthday But 1947 proved its truth 'The scheme of partition' said Ram Manohar Lohia, hurt India as few other things have done It was the last and most shameful act of British imperialism on Indian soil [12] Bismarck is also quoted as having said, were the British Empire to disappear, its work in India would remain one of its lasting monuments [13]

Partition of India, however unfortunate could not be avoided as Jinnah made it impossible for the image of united India to take shape To pre erve the tempo of communal hatred he on July 29, 1946 declared in Bombay that 'this day we bid good bye to constitutional methods and indirectly spo nsored the great Calcutta killings of the month following [14] Jinnah's subsequent threat that without Pakistan India was placed on the brink of civil war made it clear that he deman ded his pound of flesh irrespective of its price in human misery distress and desolation There was ample political prudence in the reaction of Congress leaders to what Jinnah said and the idea that an unwilling Muslim League in the union would check the progress and planning of the whole country could not be ignored On the same background a larger India carried risks of emergence of powerful disintegrating pulls in an artificially united country Partition was inevitable

States' Accession to Indian Dominion

The partition produced more problems than it was intended to solve The problem of Indian States was the most difficult of legacies of British rule which devolved on independent India When Britain relinquished power, there were, beside eleven provinces constituting the Dominion of India, 562 native States Their legal relations with the new Government of India were grossly uncertain and politically, they presented a baffling problem to the Indian leaders The Indian Independence Act laid down that, 'the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses and with it, all treaties and agreements in force at the date of passing of this Act all functions all obligations and all powers, rights authority or jurisdition exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to Indian States by treaty grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise'[15] The Act released the States from all their obligations to the Crown and all rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power returned to the States All that the Dominion Government inherited from the Paramount Power was the continuance of such matters as customs, communications and posts and telegraph until denounced by either parties of agreements The States were thus free to decide their future course of action

The Interim Cabinet at its meeting on June 25 1947 decided to set up a States Department to conduct their relations with the States The department came into being on July 5 and was headed by Sardar Patel Menon was appointed as its Secretary From the very beginning Menon was convinced that in view of the disposition of some of the Rulers to cast in their lot with Pakistan, of a few others to assert their independence and the keen desire of all to safeguard their sovereignty some sort of organic unity should be forged between the Government of India and the States if the integrity of the country was to be preserved The prophets of gloom had predicted that the ship of Indian freedom would founder on the rock of the States[16] The onerous responsibility entrusted

to Sardar Patel of 'conserving the heart of India'[17] was thus of baffling complexity and magnitude

The pace at which the events moved in States was rather rapid Some of the Princes were inclined to sacrifice national interest and the interest of the people on the altar of personal ambition They were trying to disintegrate the organic unity of India The Nawab of Bhopal had declared that his State would 'as soon as paramountcy is withdrawn be assuming an independent status'[18] Some of the Rulers were intriguing for regional federations of States The decision of the Deccan States to form a single State to be known as United Deccan State was featured by the press The Nawab of Bhopal made efforts to form a federation of Central India States K M Munshi, while addressing the Marwari Federation in Bombay on April 6, 1947 advocated for the formation of Greater Rajasthan comprising Rajputana, Gujarat and Malwa Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya at the session of All India States Peoples Conference at Meerut disclosed that he had 'seen a confidential document indicating a move to form a confederation of 562 States in order to negotiate with the Central Government'[19] Apart from the intransigence of some of the Rulers, the Political Department with Sir Conard Corfield as Advisor added to the worries of Indian leaders The department instigated some of the Rulers not to accede to Indian Dominion It was, therefore, part of wisdom on the part of Government to accelerate the speed so as to keep pace with the new orientation of popular aspirations and to remove all dangers inherent in the situation

To allay any possible suspicion on the part of the Rulers Sardar Patel issued a historic statement on July 5, 1947 defining the policy of the Government and inviting States to accede to the Dominion of India on three subjects viz, Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications He did not press the States to integrate with India but made them realize the wisdom of intergration He said, 'The States have already

accepted the basic principle that for Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications they would come into the Indian Union We ask no more of them than accession on these three subjects in which the common interests of the country are involved' Patel appealed to the Princes that 'we are at a momentous stage in the history of India By common endeavour we can raise the country to a new greatness, while lack of unity will expose us to fresh calamities I hope the Indian States will bear in mind that the alternative to co-operation in the general interest is anarchy and chaos which will overwhelm great and small in a common ruin if we are unable to act together in the minimum of common tasks Let not the future generation curse us for having had the opportunity but failed to turn it to our mutual advantage Instead, let it be our proud privilege to leave a legacy of mutually beneficial relationship which would raise this sacred land to its proper place amongst the nations of the world and turn it into an abode of peace and prosperity[20] The statement which was concise and conciliatory in tone had a good publicity both in India and abroad A number of foreign correspondents regarded it as a statesman like document

A conference of the Rulers and representatives of Indian States was convened on July 25 Lord Mountbatten addressing for the first and last time in his capacity as a Crown representative said, 'the States are theoretically free to link their future with whichever Dominion they may care But when I say that they are at liberty to link up with either of the Dominions may I point out that there are certain geographical compulsions which cannot be evaded Out of something like 565 States, the vast majority are irretrievably linked geographically with the Dominion of India Remember that the day of the transfer of power is very close at hand and if you are prepared to come, you must come before the 15th August I have no doubt that this is in the best interests of the States, and every wise Ruler and wise Government would desire to link up with the great Dominion of India on a basis which

leaves you great internal autonomy and which at the same time gets rid of your worries and cares over External Affairs, Defence and Communications He concluded with the cogent appeal to the Rulers that, you cannot run away from the Dominion Government which is your neighbour any more than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible [21] This address helped to allay Princely apprehensions and brought about an atmosphere of cordiality At the suggestion of Lord Mountbatten a committee of 22 Rulers and Dewans was constituted It was further split into two committees—one to discuss the draft of the Instrument of Accession and the other to discuss the Stand till Agreement and other relevant matters After much hectic work and deliberations the draft of the Instrument of Accession was finalized on July 31

Anticipating retrogressive activities Sardar Patel warned the Rulers, 'If any member of the Princely Order desires to establish paramountcy he is mistaken They cannot establish that paramountcy which the British are relinquishing Paramountcy is vested in the people' Similarly, while speaking on Indian States at the meeting of All India Congress Working Committee at Delhi on June 14 1947 Jawahar Lal Nehru said, 'We will not recognise any independence for any State in India Further, any recognition of such independence by any foreign power whichever it may be and wherever it may be will be considered an unfriendly act [22] Even Gandhiji had warned the Princes that if they declared independence it would be tantamount to a declaration of war against the free millions of India' [23] All these statements bewildered the Princes and left no room to clamour for sovereignty

The final rush towards independence and partition internal *agitations within the States and, above all, the policy of* the States Department broke the back bone of the Princes Most of the Rulers who were not betrayed by their judgment and whose counsellors were men of prudence rose to the occasion and signed the Instrument of Accession with good grace

and won the plaudits of their ubjects Some Princes proved less responsive but Patel's firm and sympathetic approach converted them to his point of view and they realised the mis take of swimming up the current [4] Sardar s clear cut apprisal was reinforced by Mountbatten's winning personality and except Junagadh, Hydrabad and Kashmir no other State resisted and invited police action There were several last ditchers also but, after some v cillation they yielded to the voice of reason Thus all States except Junagadh, Hydrabad and Kashmir acceded to Indian dominion by August 15, 1947 The threatened fragmentation was averted and the whole country stood under one political umbrella 'The great ideal of geographical, political and economic unification of India,' said Patel, 'an ideal which for centuries remained a distant dream and which appeared as remote and as difficult of attain ment as ever even after the advent of Indian independence has been consumated '

The 'infectious charm and inborn tact of Mountbatten which went a long way in winning over the Rulers, the mas terly handling of the Rulers by Sardar, and lastly, the willing and patriotic co operation of some of the Rulers, all combined to make the accession a magnificent success To quote Mountbatten, the accession of Indian States was 'a great triumph for the realism and sense of responsibility of the Rulers and the governments of the States as well as for the Government of India '[25] In the words of Sir Percival Griffiths a former mem ber of I C S 'India's handling of the problem of independent S ates was one of the most remarkable achievements of modern times '[26] The accession of States except in cases of Hydrabad and Kashmir was smooth and peaceful Quick results saved India many disasters and more threats and Patel with an uncanny instinct for correct timing took effective action at psychological hours He did not allow the gra s to grow under his feet and moved fast to consolidate the country [27] In his own words 'one day is equal to a century and 'things could

move slowly where there was more leisure and less speed ' The challange of Princely India was overcome by vision and states manship and in the words of Michael Bretcher 'within a year of independence it disappeared into history

Formation Of Matsya Union

The accession of Indian States to the Dominion of India *was the first phase of the process of fitting them into the consti*tutional structure of India The second phase which rapidly followed, involved a process of two fold integration—the consolidation of States into sizeable administrative units, and their democratisation With the e objects in view the Government started its work of consolidation and democratisation of the States

The integration of States did not follow a uniform pattern in all cases Merger of States in the provinces geographically contiguous to them was one form of integration the second was the conversion of States into ce trally administered areas and the third was the integration of territories to create new viable units known as Unions of States Each of these forms were adopted according to size, geography, economy and other factors relating to each State or groups of State The third pattern was adopted in case of Rajputana States

Prior to the partition of India the Eastern Rajputana States were politically ferment and internal disorders had paralysed the administration Shortly before the transfer of power, the Meos a Muslim sect, had become a source of worry to the governments of Bharatpur and Alwar There were communal disturbances in both the States Bharatpur Army Minister, Raja Girraj Saran Singh brother of His Highness in a press interview revealed that 209 villages in north Bharatpur were destroyed in disturbances He pointed out that the trouble was due to the determination of the Meos living in north Bharatpur south Gurgaon and Alwar 'to create a new State of Meostan [28] Efforts thereupon were made by Bharat pur Darbar to suppress the disturbances In a meeting of the representatives of the Hindu and Muslim citizens of the State

on July 5 1947 at Bharatpur Maharaja Brijendra Singh warned that 'anarchy and lawlessness will not hereafter be tolerated and rioters will be shot at sight '[29] He further declared that 'hereafter the headmen and other responsible persons of towns and villages would be held responsible for order and peace in their respective areas The penalty for those found guilty of taking part in unlawful activities or trying to shelter the offenders includes forfeiture of landed property or imposition of collective fines on the whole village

Communal holocaust had their reactions in Alwar also Besides, there were charges against the Alwar Premier, Dr N B Khare, a rabid Hindu Mahasabhite, for his anti Muslim activities It was reported that he had a hand in rousing the Hindus against the Meo community, who were Muslim by faith and jingoes by tradition [30] It was also alleged that the Meos were being 'hounded out of the State, that mosques were being demolished and that Muslim burial grounds were being desecrated '[31]

The communal tension created anxiety to the Government of India and so in October 1947, Sardar Patel called a meeting of the representatives of the provincial and State governments The Rulers of Alwar and Bharatpur and Dr Khare were also invited At the meeting Sardar emphasized the paramount need for maintaining communal harmony Those who fanned the flames of communalism he said, were the greatest enemies of the country The participants assured Sardar Patel of their full co-operation and support

Complaints against Alwar and Bharatpur went on mounting day by day V P Menon was, therefore, sent to Alwar without the knowledge of the State government to find out the exact situation While apprising Sardar Patel of his impressions Menon suggested that Dr Khare be replaced by Premier of the choice of the Central Government In view of the communal tension in the State and of the allegations of complicity of the Alwar Government in Gandhiji's assassination [32] it w

decided that the administration be taken over by the Central Government forthwith, and both the Maharaja and Dr Khare should remain in Delhi till the pendency of inquiry into the allegations[33] The Maharaja was served with an order on February 7 1948 and the administration of Alwar was taken over by the States Ministry[34] The Maharaja thereupon dispensed with the services of Dr Khare and asked him to remain in Delhi till the inquiry was completed As a result of inquiry the Maharaja and Dr Khare were later on exonerated

The Government of India was also unhappy with the affairs in Bharatpur because the States Ministry had levelled the following charges against the State government[35]

1 He (Maharaja Brijendra Singh) did not observe the 15th August as a day of Independence vide Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant s letter dated 25 10 47 He has permitted publication in his State of a paper containing articles throwing discredit on the leaders of India for having accepted partition Some of the articles in this paper called Navjagrati' are so currilous that they would not have been tolerated even for a day in an Indian province

2 Pursuit of a deliberate policy of victimising, looting evicting and killing his Muslim subjects numbering over a lakh out of a total population of six lakhs The Maharaja is reported to have expressed delight that no Muslim was left in the State The charge, thus, would be failing to afford that protection to one section of his subjects, which they were entitled to expect from him as Ruler and thus failing in his elementary duty as the Ruler of the State

3 Failure to ensure safety on the vital railway lines passing through his State and particularly on the vital link of Agra to Bandikui, which is really a life line for Rajputana

4 Failure to control the State forces and to enforce discipline amongst them

5 The Maharaja is pursuing a policy of favourtism towards Jats and victimisation of non Jats even amongst non Muslims in the State

6 Setting up of a factory for the manufacture of arms and ammunitions although, according to the Standstill Agreement, this is not permissible to the State these weapons and ammunitions are supplied to Jats and volunteers of the R S S S to help them in their activities of terrorisation of not only Muslims of Bharatpur but also Muslims of adjoining areas such as Gurgaon, Mathura and Agra

7 The Ruler is mixed up with communal and violent organisations such as the R S S S whom he deliberately encourages in view of its strong communal feelings and activities

Jawahar Lal Nehru in his letter of January 28 1948 to Sardar Patel also intimated about the training of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh workers in Bharatpur with arms[36]

Because of political unrest and tension in the State Maharaja Brijendra Singh was called to Delhi on February 10, 1948 During the conversations with Menon, the Maharaja was intimated of the prima facie evidence of complicity of Bharatpur administration in the activities of R.S S S and was advised to hand over State s administration to the Government of India to which he reluctantly agreed[37] In compliance with such decision the Bharatpur State ministry headed by Rai Bahadur Surajmal resigned on February 14, 1948 The Government of India appointed S N Sapru as the Administrator who took charge on February 15 1948 Col Dhillon was appointed incharge of State military The Central States Ministry also asked Rao Raja Girraj Saran Singh alias Bachoo Singh, brother of His Highness to leave Bharatpur[38] and intimated by telegram on February 14 1948 that passage has been secured for him by air for U K leaving Delhi on February 19, 1948 As a result of inquiry nothing substantial was found against the Maharaja and was completely exonerated Though the action taken by the Government of India against the States of Alwar and Bharatpur was drastic it certainly had a very exemplary effect on the communal situation

Signing of the covenant—The States Ministry by that time had realised that Dholpur and Karauli were contiguous areas and because of their natural, racial and economic affinities with Alwar and Bharatpur, should be integrated into a Union The four Rulers were called to Delhi on February 27 1948 and a proposal for a Union was put before them to which they agreed [39] It was also explicitly made clear to them that if necessary the Union might be required to join either Rajasthan or the United Provinces as the Union by itself would not be financially self supporting The Union of these States was designated as Matsya Union, the name suggested by K M Munshi on the plea that the region of these States was known as Matsya in the ancient epics and in Mahabharat [40]

As the inquiries against the Rulers of Alwar and Bharatpur were pending then Maharaja Udai Bhan Singh of Dholpur who was oldest of the four Rulers, was made Rajpramukh The Rulers of Bharatpur and Karauli agreed to it but of Alwar acquiesced only after a good deal of argument and reluctance He was, however, made Up Rajpramukh of the proposed Union [41]

The covenant drawn on the Saurashtra model was signed by the Rulers on February 28, 1948 It laid down that the administration of the four integrated States was to be amalgamated and put under an Administrator appointed by the States Ministry The Administrator was to carry on the affairs of Government with the assistance of a Council of Ministers appointed from these States for the interim period It was also laid down that the constitution of the Union was to be framed by a Constituent Assembly of 20 members elected by the people of the covenanting States [42] The privy purses for the Rulers of Alwar Bharatpur Dholpur and Karauli were fixed at Rs 5 20 000/ Rs 5 02 000/, Rs 2 64,000/ and Rs 1 05 000/ respectively [43]

Immediately after it troubles started in Bharatpur Raja Man Singh the younger brother of His Highness launched a violent movement against the merger of Bharatpur in the

Matsya Union The cry of 'Jat Flag in danger'[44] was raised to arouse the feelings of the community It was reported that the Jats had set up a 'Hukumat' of their own in Bharatpur and threatened public servants with dire consequences if they supported or served the proposed Union in any manner It was also reported that some Jat groups collected arms ammunitions and funds to make a bid for capturing Bharatpur and taking over the administration of the Union According to the reports of the Inspector General of Police, Bharatpur, Raja Man Singh visited Helena village near Weir and other neighbouring villages on March 12, 1948 and instigated the Jats to make demonstrations against the formation of Matsya Government He was also reported to have said at Weir that one and a half lakh of persons should reach Bharatpur on March 17 'fully armed to fight to the last and disrupt the inauguration ceremony of the new Matsya State 'Holi, he said, 'would be played with blood and the Congress flag would be pulled down if it was hoisted at the fort [45] The Kishan Sabha headed by Thakur Deshraj also backed Raja Man Singh in fomenting troubles in the State The Sabha was unhappy because of non inclusion of Kisans in Matsya Ministry On March 14, Raja Man Singh was arrested and sent to Delhi An order under section 144 was issued on March 15 prohibiting the carrying of arms and lathies as well as assembly of five or more persons throughout the State Military and police force was sent out for patrol duty in the city and other principal towns of the State On March 16 Thakur Deshraj and a few other Jat leaders were arrested and detained in the Sewar central jail at Bharatpur Warrants were also issued for absconding leaders [46]

On the morning of March 17 about a thousand Jats collected inside the fort and squatted on ground where the inauguration ceremony was to be performed at 11 30 A M by N V Gadgil, then Central Minister for Works, Mines and Power The demonstrators demanded (i) that the Indian Union Flag should not be hoisted on any State building and the State Flag only be hoisted, (ii) that of the two ministers from

Bharatpur at least one should be of the Kisan Party, and (iii) that persons arrested including Raja Man Singh and Thakur Deshraj be released and warrants for others cancelled [47] His Highnesses of Alwar, Bharatpur and Dholpur, Matsya Union Administrator, K B L Seth and Bharatpur Administrator, S N Sapru persuaded the crowd to disperse but all in vain Military and police were then rushed to the spot As a last resort Thakur Deshraj was brought to the fort where he addressed the mob and persuaded them to disperse He, however supported the demand for representation of the Kisan Sabha in the new ministry and said that if their demands were not reasonbly considered within a week fresh and more strong resistance movement would be launched Ultimately it was agreed that Indian Union flag would be hoisted only on those buildings where there were no State flags As regards last two demands referred to above, the Rajpramukh assured that they would be placed before the Central Government and every effort would be made to secure acceptance thereon Deshraj s appeal had a good response and the mob dispersed He was, of course taken back to the jail immediately All this delayed the ceremony by about two hours and it could be held at 1 15 P M Other proceedings of the day went though according to schedule Maharaja Udai Bhan Singh soon after he was sworn in as Rajpramukh addressed the Darbar and said, 'In embarking on the new venture I sincerely wish to closely associate the best and popular talents with the working ot the future State so that Matsya Union may be contented and happy [48]

The Matsya Union Government started functioning from March 18, 1948 and a cabinet headed by Shobha Ram as Chief Minister was constituted The cabinet beside Chief Minister included Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi Bhola Nath, Gopi Lal Yadav, Dr Mangal Singh and Chiranji Lal Sharma [49] For smooth and efficient working the Central Government appointed K B.L Seth as Administrator of the United State of Matsya H K Tandon as Chief Secretary and U C Malhotra as Inspector General of Police Messrs Brij Ballabh Sharma, Surya

Swaroop, R N Saxena and Capt Ram Singh were appointed secretaries in various departments of Matsya Government [50]

Thus the United State of Matsya was formed with an area of 7,589 square miles, a population of 18,37,994 and a revenue of Rs 183 lakh [51] Four Eastern Rajputana States integrated into a new set up with popular administration ensured the widest possible scope for the development of the people and their participation to the fullest in the political, economic and cultural life of the region It ended the historical Princely Order in this part of the country

Anatomy of Matsya Union

Executive—The Rajpramukh was the head of the Union and was vested with enormous executive powers He exercised his authority on the advise of the Council of Ministers and the subordinate officers appointed by him The Rajpramukh was empowered to exercise prerogative of mercy and pardon, and also the powers of remitting, commuting or reducing sentences conditionally or otherwise He could also call for the record of any case or proceeding pending before or decided by the High Court or any court subordinate thereto or to pass such orders thereon as may be in accordance with the law and usage of the State and consonant with the dictates of justice equity and good conscience All executive actions of the government were to be expressed to be taken in the name of the Rajpramukh He was empowered to make rules for the convenient transaction of the business of the government and for the allocation among ministers of the said business

There was a Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the Rajpramukh in exercise of his functions Ministers were appointed by the Rajpramukh and held their offices during his pleasure The Council of Ministers was required to function in accordance with the rules of business sanctioned by the Rajpramukh [52] It was the duty of the Chief Minister to communicate to the Rajpramukh all decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to the

administration of the affairs of the Union and to furnish such information as the Rajpramukh may call for

Article 3 of the United State of Matsya (Administration) Ordinance of 1948 laid down that the Rajpramukh shall in the public interest, and for the better governance of the United State, appoint an Administrator and may, from time to time invest him with such powers and delegate to him such authority as he may think proper All those powers which were not specifically conferred upon the ministers remained vested in the Administrator, who was also to control those departments which were not allotted to ministers The Administrator therefore, exercised even the residuary powers and in fact had a more extensive sway than the minister It was he who appointed various officers holding charge of the different administrative units and functioned as the principal executive officer of those units All officers working in those units remained subordinate to him It was the duty of the Administrator to specify the areas which went to constitute the revenue districts and tehsils and also to fix the headquarters thereof In case he considered it expedient he could also form sub-divisions of one or more tehsils

Legislature—The convenant laid down that there was to be a Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution of the Union providing for a government responsible to the legislature It was to be consisted of twenty elected representatives of the people of the United State on the basis of one representative for approximately one lakh of the population, and not more than three other persons nominated by the Rajpramukh to represent special interests[33] Since there existed a great uncertainty about the future of the Union, no concrete steps could be taken with regard to the setting up of any legislative organ in the State During its short existence of about fourteen months the Union continued to be administered by ordinances

Judiciary—The Matsya High Court Ordinance 1948 established a High Court for the entire Union with its head

quarters at Bharatpur It consisted of a Chief Justice and a number of judges appointed by the Rajpramukh A judge could remain in office up to the age of 67 years The court exercised extraordinary original civil and criminal jurisdiction over all persons residing within the jurisdiction of any court subject to its superintendence and was empowered to try at its discretion any such person brought before it on charges preferred by any Government Advocate or by any Magistrate or other officer specially authorised by the Government of the Matsya Union in that behalf For the purposes of jurisdiction, appellate or extraordinary, the ordinance laid down that in civil cases when the value of suit was Rs 3000/ or the decree involved directly such claim to or question relating to the property of the like value the appeal or revision was to be heard by a bench of two or more judges In criminal cases all appeals or revisions arising out of orders awarding death sentences or imprisonment exceeding four years or fine exceeding Rs 500/ the appeal or revision was to be heard by a bench of two or more judges Decisions were taken in accordance with the opinion of the majority of the judges In all other cases, unless the Chief Justice otherwise directed, proceedings before the High Court were heard by a single judge

High Court with the sanction of the Government was empowered to make rules to regulate the practice It was also competent to punish in a summary manner either by fine which may extend up to Rs 2 000/ or simple imprisonment for a term up to six months or both for any contempt in relation to itself or to any court subordinate to it The ordinance also laid down that all proceedings pending in a High Court of any of the covenanting States prior to March 17 1948 were to be transferred to the Matsya High Court for disposal The Extra ordinary Gazette of January 29, 1949 further laid down that all appeals references and revisions relating to revenue, jagir, khanpan, muafi and punya matters filed before March 17 1948 for consideration by the Rulers of the covenanting States were to be heard by the Rajpramukh on the advice given by

the member of the Board of Revenue The Extra ordinary Gazette of February 8, 1949 provided that all appeals or revisions against the decisions of the High Courts of the covenanting States which were filed before March 17, 1948 and were pending with the Rulers were to be disposed of by the Rajpramukh on the advice of the Chief Justice of the Matsya High Court

The United State of Matsya (Civil Courts) Ordinance No 5 of 1948 provided for the law relating to civil courts in the Union It established the Courts of District Judge, Additional Judge, Civil Judge Small Causes Judge and the Munsif The Court of the District Judge was the principal civil court of original jurisdiction in the area over which its jurisdiction extended Subject to the general superintendence and control of the High Court, the District Judge exercised control over all the civil courts within his jurisdiction The judge was empowered to hear and determine any suit or original proceeding without restriction of any value Appeals from a decree or order of an Additional Judge, Civil Judge and Munsif were heard by this Court The District Judge was also empowered to transfer any suit or appeal to any subordinate court When the business pending before any District Judge required the aid of Additional Judge for its speedy disposal the Rajpramukh could appoint such Additional Judge Any Judge so appointed was to discharge the functions as assigned by the District Judge Appeals against the decrees or orders of the District Judge and Additional Judge were to lie to the High Court of the Union The Civil Judge was empowered to hear any suit or original proceeding up to the value of Rs 10 000/ and the Munsif exercised the jurisdiction to hear any suit up to the value of Rs 3 000/

Administrative Divisions—The United State of Matsya was divided into a number of districts and each district was divided into a number of sub divisions and every sub division was further divided into tehsils Mastya Union (Administration) Ordinance No 3 of 1948 empowered

Administrator to demarcate the areas of districts and tehsils and the headquarters thereof Collector appointed under this ordinance was the principal revenue and administrative officer in the district and other revenue officers of the district were subordinate to him Sub divisional Officers administered sub-divisions while Tehsildars and Naib Tehsildars looked after the work in tehsils For all revenue and administrative purposes concerning a district, the Collector was subordinate to the Commissioner or the Board of Revenue if any, and to the Administrator Besides the Collector also worked as a District Magistrate for the district and exercised all powers exercisable under the Criminal Procedure Code The ordinance provided that Commissioners, members of the Board of Revenue and Collectors were to be appointed by the Rajpramukh The Government also appointed a Pay and Reorganisation of Services Committee to find out ways and means for reorganising the departments and preparing the gradation eniority and fixation rules for improving the efficiency of all the departments A special officer was appointed to investigate the possibilities of starting revenue settlement where it was over due and in such jagir villages where it had not yet been settled The Government had al o decided that with effect from March 18, 1948 the Palace Department and the future of its officials shall be the Ruler's concern and the expenditure incurred thereon hereafter would be charged to the privy purse of the concerned Ruler [14]

Within a year of its formation the Government of Matsya could look back with satisfaction at what had been achieved during the period Having regard to the exceptional difficulties as ociated with a period of economic distress and revolutionary changes in the political field the enteries on the credit side were by no means negligible A unified system of administration was built up and administrative organs were modernized At the same time every field of activity had felt the impact of the change and foundations had been laid for the substantial progress in all directions Within a year the Union

issued a number of ordinances, including, The Matsya Prevention of Corruption Ordinance, The Matsya Electricity Ordinance, The Matsya Customs and Toll Tax Ordinance, The Matsya Registration of Habitual Criminals Ordinance, The Matsya High Court Ordinance, The Matsya Civil Courts Ordinance, The Matsya Administration Ordinance, The Matsya Public Safety Ordinance The Matsya Rent Control Ordinance, The Matsya Dharma Kanta Ordinance The Matsya Displaced Persons Ordinance, The Matsya Entertainment and Betting Tax Ordinance, and The Matsya Abolition of Darogha Dowry System Ordinance

The events in the meantime moved fast The resulting unions of the remaining Rajputana States which came into existence in stages had a bearing on the existence and continuance of the United State of Matsya It would therefore, be necessary to discuss them briefly here as these events ultimately led to the formation of Rajasthan and integration of the United State of Matsya therein

Formation of Greater Rajasthan

The second phase in the history of integration was the formation of the United State of Rajasthan with Banswara Bundi Dungarpur, Jhalawar Kishangarh, Kotah, Partabgarh Shahpura, Tonk and two chiefships of J awa and Kushalgarh The initiative for the formation of the union of these States came from the Rulers of Kotah, Dungarpur and Jhalawar The Maharao of Kotah had convened a conference of ministers of some of these States with a view to exploring the possibilities of a union The conference came to the conclusion that the States were vulnerable at many points and that they had no future at all The three Rulers of Kotah, Dungarpur and Jhalawar called on Menon at Delhi on March 3, 1949 and apprised him of their scheme of the union The Government of India accepted it and the union with an area of 16 807 square miles a population of 23 34 220 and an average annual revenue of over 19 millions was inaugurated on March 25 1948 by N V Gadgil [55] Covenant laid down that the Rulers of

Kotah, Bundi and Dungarpur would be the first Rajpramukh, Senior Rajpramukh and Junior Rajpramukh respectively The Rulers of the covenanting States were required to hand over their administration to the Rajpramukh before April 15, 1948

With the formation of the United State of Rajasthan, it was felt by the Government of India that if Udaipur could be induced to join the union, it would become a self supporting unit S V Ramamurthy, the Dewan of Udaipur desired that all the States of the United State of Rajasthan be merged in Udaipur but it was not acceptable to the Rulers as well as the States Ministry, for it meant allowing a single State to swallow up the smaller States Subsequently, intimation was recieved by the Government that the Ruler of Udaipur was willing to join the union if he and his State were ensured their legitimate position in the union After considerable deliberations, the Rulers of Kotah Dungarpur and Jhalawar on March 29 agreed to reconstitute the United State of Rajasthan by merging Udaipur into it and to sign a fresh covenant superseding the existing one A modified covenant was drafted and signed by all the Rulers on April 11, 1948 In view of its political importance, the Rajasthan union with Udaipur as its capital was inaugurated by Jawahar Lal Nehru on April 18 1948 The Union had an area of 29 977 square miles, a population of 42 60 918 and an annual revenue of Rs 316 lakhs [56] Maharana of Udaipur was sworn in as the Rajpramukh for his life time the Maharao of Kotah as Senior Up Rajpramukh, and the Rulers of Bundi and Dungarpur as Up Rajpramukhs for a term of five years from the said date The popular ministry headed by Manik Lal Verma as Chief Minister was sworn in on May 1 1948

With the formation of Rajasthan Union only four viable States namely, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer remained unintegrated The fast changing political developments in Rajasthan and crystallization of public opinion forced the Government of India to take up the issue sooner than expected After hectic negotiations and consultations, Sardar

Patel announced on January 14, 1949 in a public meeting at Udaipur the willingness of the Rulers of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer to integrate their States with the Rajasthan Union This announcement was well received throughout the country The Union of Greater Rajasthan was thus brought nearer realisation 'by a public spirited decision'[37] of the Rulers Sardar Patel inaugurated the Union on March 30 1949 by swearing in the Maharaja of Jaipur as the Rajpramukh for his life time A special feature of this Union was the appointment of the Maharana of Udaipur as Maharajpramukh for his life time *This arrangement was made to ensure for the Ruler of this important State an honourable place in the new set up*[38] The cabinet headed by Chief Minister, Hira Lal Shastri, took over the administration on April 4, 1949

Constraints of the Matsya Union

Integration of four Eastern Rajputana States and the formation of Matsya Union was a momentous event in the history of this region The Union which had, thus, come into existence was a heterogeneous conglomeration of semi sovereign political entities Their level of political, administrative and economic development differed from one another The working of the Union also failed to satisfy the aspirations of the people It was hoped that it would provide efficient and clean administration and would lay the foundations of responsible and democratic institutions in the area But the Union because of innumerable constraints and problems belied all such expectations

Administrative Problems—Administrative set up in the covenanting States had been both personal and primitive and the administrative personnal inherited from them was not equipped to undertake the responsibilities that now faced the Union Besides, grouping of scores of administrations belonging to various levels of development with different traditions of rule was no easy task, even if they were administratively grouped together Then there was the problem of internal integration of different units into uniform laws pay scales and service rules

Disgruntled and reactionary forces—Ever since the taking over of the Congress Ministry, disgruntled and reactionary forces carried on subversive activities against the government They worked with different names At some places they were called 'Sanghists' while at other places as 'Samajvadies' or workers of 'Janadhikar Samiti' Their object was to defame and if possible to topple down the government They fully exploited the food situation and the rising cost of living In Alwar their centres of activity were Rajgarh and Nimrana In Bharatpur, the workers of 'Kisan' and 'Nagrik' parties activised their anti government campaign Their demand was the incl usion of a kisan minister in the cabinet The socialists created trouble by giving false hopes of suspension of land revenue in Nimrana 'Alwar Patrika' a publication of the party was banned for its defamatory articles by the government and Kunj Bihari Lal Modi, an active worker of the party went on hunger strike on January 26, 1949 against the decision of the govern ment[59] The party also organised a public meeting at Dholpur and adopted a resolution that 'Dholpur and Bharatpur be formed into a separate province and named as Brij Pradesh[60] The 'Janta weekly of the Kisan Mazdoor Party also carried propaganda on the same lines

Anti Government activities of R S S S—Th- R S S S workers created trouble by holding public meetings taking out process ions and violating prohibitory orders of the government They wanted the release of their leader Golwalker It, therefore, became necessary for the Inspector General of Police of the Matsya Union on December 9 1948 to order the Superinten dents of Police of Alwar Bharatpur Dholpur and Karauli to arrest all the active workers of R S S S in their respective areas by noon of December 10 1948 latest under the Matsya Public Safety Ordiance[61] On December 12 1948 the Govern ment of India ordered all provincial governments that government servants found participating in R S S S activities or conv cted of any offence connected therewith be immediately suspended and dealt with departmentally and in--a es of

conviction in court dismissed immediately' This aggravated the situation the United State of Matsya

Opposition by the Chief of Nimrana—The Chief of Nimrana was unhappy over the merger of his estate in the Matsya Union without his consent He wished his estate's merger with the Gurgaon district of the Punjab [62] The Chief, therefore, joined the anti government forces He also filed a suit against the Matsya Government challanging the merger of Nimrana and for not allowing him to take possessions of his own belongings in the local fort [63]

Activities of communal organisations—Communal organisa tions like khaksar and the Muslim League National Guards also created problems for the government These organisations aimed at carving out a new State of 'Meostan' The Meos of Alwar and Bharatpur had been indulging in looting arson and killing of the hindu inhabitants living on the borders of Alwar and Bharatpur The Government, therefore, had to post military at Tijara and Nimli in Alwar to put an effective check on the activities of the Meos and to restore confidence among the people who were leaving their hearths and homes

Indifferent attitude of the Rulers—The attitude of indiffer rence and non participation in matters of administration by the Rulers of the covenanting States also created problems for the government Ever since the formation of the Matsya Union His Highness Dholpur avoided his appearance at public functions Some controversy between him and the Matsya Government over the payment of salaries of employees of certain departments viz private office personal staff, Tosha khana made the Ruler indifferent towards the Union Further the Rulers of Bharatpur and Dholpur secretly supported the Kisan Sabha in their demand for inclusion of a jat in the ministry *The Ruler of Karauli on some pretexts did not* attend the Matsya Union inauguration ceremony at Bharatpur and the Independence Day celebration at Karauli [64]

Unrepresentative character of the Ministry—Ever since the formation of the Matsya Government people were not happy

with the unrepresentative character of the ministry Ratan Singh, General Secretary of the Bharatpur Kisan Sabha in his letter of April 4 1948 to Menon wrote that 'the public in general and the kisans in particular strongly feel that the interim ministry is not functioning well This ministry does not command the confidence of the urban people also the present ministry should be dissolved immediately and the new ministry with proper representation of all the parties be formed at an early date '65 At a public meeting held on November 11, 1948 in Alwar city the political workers includ ing Girdhar Sharma and Kunj Behari Lal Modi demanded immediate elections Socialist leader, Dr Ram Manohar Lohia at a public meeting in Bharatpur on December 3, 1948 also vehemently criticised the Matsya Government and said, 'We were of the impression that after the Englishmen had left India our trouble would end but this did not prove true and the troubles continued as before The reason for this is that the representatives in the Government are not elected by the public The Government has changed but the policy is the same as before Bharatpur which was petty organi ation was amalga mated with other units and bigger unit Matsya was formed but even months have pa sed and no development appears to have been made so far It is heard about one of the minister at Alwar that he was asked by some members of public as to how cloth, kerosene oil and wheat are being imported and how they are distributed and on that the honourable minister replied that they had no business to ask him on the point He was not appointed by them but by the Hon ble Sardar Patel This is the mentality of the Government and they are the servants of Sardar Patel If the ministers would have been your elect, they could not dare reply in those words 66

Absence of experienced political leadership—There existed a conspicuous absence of experienced political leadership in the Matsya Union The leaders got recognition only within their State boundaries and none could emerge to the status of a

provincial leader There did not exist in the past representative institutions in their States which could have imparted political or organisational training to them Though the mantle of democratic leadership had fallen upon them, the limitations of their character, capacity, outlook and vision never allowed them to change either the hostility of the old order or the backwardness of their society Political organisations in the Matsya were also in the formative stage and as a result of discordant elements they looked like a loose bag full of stones constantly knocking against one another Besides, there was general unrest among various sections of the people The new ministry was faced with a strong opposition from an influential section of jat leaders The jagirdars who were apprehensive of the land reform measures of the Government started forcible possession of land from thier tenants men of services were worried about their grades postings and transfers labour was dissatisfied over the existing working conditions displaced persons were in distress, anti Congress elements were exploiting the situation to serve their own ends and above all, the Congress organisation itself was divided

Integration of Matsya in United State of Rajasthan

Within a short period of eleven months, the people of Bharatpur and Dholpur dissatisfied with the interim ministry started working on different schemes A vast majority of Congress workers favoured merger either with the United Provinces or with Delhi, the Jagirdars on the other hand, preferred a union with Jaipur The Kisan Sabha demanded 'Bharatpur and Dholpur to be formed into a separate province and named Brij Pradesh The Meos of Alwar and Bharatpur aimed at carving out a new State of 'Meostan Besides the Union was too weak economically and otherwise to stand by itself In order to avoid all possibilities of disintegration, the Government of India on February 13 1949 summoned the Rulers of Alwar Bharatpur Dholpur and Karauli and the ministers of Matsya Union to Delhi During the discussions the Rulers of Alwar and Karauli showed their willingness for integration with

Rajasthan Union but in Bharatpur and Dholpur there was no such unanimity Some ministers favoured integration with Rajasthan, while others, for reasons of affinity of language desired merger with the United Provinces On March 23, 1949 Menon had further discussions with the Rulers Maharaja of Bharatpur on that day intimated that the majority of his subjects were in favour of integration with the United State of Rajasthan The Maharaj Rana of Dholpur also later on agreed for integration with a proviso that it should subsequently be merged with the United Provinces, if the majority of his people so desired In order to ascertain public opinion in these two States the States Ministry appointed a Committee consisting of Shanker Rao Deo as Chairman R K Sidhwa and Prabhu Dayal Himatsingka as members on April 4 1949 The Committee came to the conclusion that the majority opinion was for integration with Rajasthan rather than for merger in the United Provinces The Committee also suggested that after some time the people should be given an opportunity to express their views by means of plebiscite or some other appropriate procedure The Government of India accepted the recommendations and took steps to integrate the entire Matsya Union with Rajasthan

On May 10, 1949 a conference of four Rulers of the Ma tya Union was held at Delhi to which the Raj Pramukh and the Chief Minister of Rajasthan were al o invited The Rulers abrogated the Covenant of the Matsya Union and agreed to integrate the Matsya Union with Rajasthan The draft Covenant was signed by the four Rulers and the Raj Pramukh on behalf of the Rajasthan Union A provision was made in the Covenant that when the Government of India are satisfied that conditions favourable to the expression of a considered opinion by the general public have been established in Bharatpur and Dholpur suitable steps would be taken to ascertain whether public opinion is in favour of continuing with Rajasthan or merging with the United Provinces The administration of Matsya was transferred to Rajasthan Union on May 15, 1949

Integration of Matsya was the only and most suitable solution in the existing circumstances Any other step would have proved disastrous to the homogeneity and solidarity of the region It completed the process of unification and consolidation of the Rajputana States

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31 Menon V P op cit p 252

32 It was alleged that Alwar had been an important training and propaganda centre for the R S S S and that some of the conspirators responsible for the murder had been sheltered in the State Menon V P op cit p 253

Panna Lal Chaube Hindu Mahasabha worker of Alwar and also a police informer told the Kapur Commission probing into the Gandhi murder conspiracy on October 19 1967 that the conspiracy to assassinate Mahatma Gandhi was hatched at Alwar in which the Premier of Alwar State Dr Khare took a prominent part He said that one Raizada Hakim Rai a refugee from Pakistan and a favourite of Dr Khare had brought Godse and Parchure to the Premier three months before the assassination was committed At a private meeting which witness also attended Parchure had said that Godse alone could assassinate Mahatma Gandhi and it was not in the interest of the country that he should live any long because his policy was detrimental to Hindu community Godse replied that they should not bother he would do the whole thing Panna Lal Chaube further said I am prepared to say that the real person at the back of the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi was Dr Khare and Godse was only a tool in his hands Godse and Parchure belonged to the same place as Dr Khare The Hindustan Times October 21 1967 Godse was only a tool

33 Menon V P : op cit pp 253—254

34 Ibid

35 Note of C C Desai Joint Secretary States Ministry Govt of India of November 28 1947 File No 11(17) P 47 Bharatpur Affairs—Allegations against H H Bharatpur 1948 R G A

36 The letter read Lal Bahadur Shastri Minister U P Government tells me that they have received information to the effect that R S S S men are trained in Bharatpur with arms Many of these people go from U P for training in camps or otherwise and then return with arms We had heard previously of such training camps being run in Bharatpur State File No 11(17)P 47 Bharatpur Affairs R G A

37 Maharaja Brijendra Singh sent a letter on the same day i e February 10 1948 to Menon which read The news came to me as a shock and I can assure you that the State administration has nothing to do with these subversive communal and anti national activities In order therefore to clear my State and my position I agree that the States Ministry should forthwith appoint an Administrator for my State There is no question of the Administrator being interferred with by me in any way I also agree that a Police Officer selected by the States Ministry should be appointed as a Head of the Police in my State My administration including my popular ministers the Police and the Military will afford every help and co-operation to the officers appointed by the Ministry of States The administrator will not be removable by me except with the previous consent of the Ministry of States You further suggested that my brother should stay outside Bharatpur I suggested to you that it would be in conformity with my own position as well as his if he were to sent away to England

and you promised to consider the suggestion sympathetically File No I AD/48 I Bharatpur Affairs R G A

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61 File No GAI/16/48 R S S S—Unlawful Organisation R G A

62 Letter No D/177/48 of 1 11 1948 to Intelligence Bureau New Delhi File No GAI(33)/48—U S M R G A

63 Confidential report to C M and Administrator U S M File No 17/PL/48 R G A

64 File No GAI/(33)/48—United State of Matsya R G A

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67 Indian News Chronicle November 23 1948

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Retrospect

The institution of rulership had been a recognised feature of ancient Indian polity and the States had studded the map of India even before the advent of the British in this country However, the Princes, their status and their possessions constituting the Indian States system, as it was stablised under British rule, were all evolved during the first two decades of the 19th century as a concomitant of the rise of British power in India By the end of 1819 all States had concluded treaties and engagements with the British Government and had secured protection against internal insurrection and external aggression Insured against the consequences of misrule, the Rulers no longer found it necessary to cultivate the goodwill of the people or to maintain efficiency of administration Consequently they had become irresponsible despots To Curzon they seemed no better than 'a set of unruly and ignorant and rather undisciplined school boys who should be 'schooled by a firm but not unkindly hand [1] In short most of the Indian States were 'sinks of reaction and incompetence '

The Indian States existed on the sufferance of the British Government But why ? At any time in the course of the 19th century they could have been easily incorporated into British India, possibly without shedding a drop of blood Had this been done the course of subsequent history might have been different Apart from the British respect for royalty and aristocracy they were the safety valve for the 'ignoble elements of Indian population and a bulwark of British supremacy in India 'Being propped by an alien power said Nehru Indian States have long survived their day and they have become the strangest anomalies in a changing world [2]

The levels of political administrative and economic development in States varied greatly There was a very wide

difference in the degree of administrative efficiency reach d by the most advanced States and the most backward In some States even the rudiments of administrative machinery did not exist, and in a large number local self governing institu tions were either conspicuous by their absence or still in a stage of infancy Internal trade was rendered difficult by the export import and other duties which the various States levied Each of these States had its own laws and taxation structure, and the bewildering multiplicity of their revenue and other systems ruled out any kind of constitutional and ad ministrative uniformity In such a set up any kind of develop ment opening up of economic potentialities or any form of real prcgress was hardly possible After 1920 there occurred events which disturbed the citadels of conservatism and abso lutism All unnatural barriers were broken, the spirit of enquiry and wonder had taken the place of placidity and torpor, feelings of uneasiness and healthy discon ent had begun to rise, and a strange yearning for constitutional government and the rule of law had possessed the soul of the intelligentsia [3] The desire to enjoy rights similar to tho e that were being enjoyed on an ever increasing scale by their brethren in British India, and eagerness to march hand in hand with them in the race of progress had stirred the hearts of the people of the States 'All the States said Nehru, 'are astir, and in many of them power ful mass movements are functioning The people of States are rapidly coming into line with the rest of India The time has come, therefore, for the integration of those various struggles in the States interse and with the major struggle against British imperialism '[4]

Some wise British administrators were conscious of the growing estrangement between the Rulers and the people and the consequences of their antiquated administrative set up They advised the Rulers that their paramount duty was the welfa e of their subjects Lord Linlithgow while addressing the annual session of the Chamber of Princes said It goes without saying that an effective machinery by which the

authorities of the States can satisfy themselves, that all complaints can readily reach the care of the Darbar, is an essential necessity in the present conditions, and Your Highnesses will all agree with me that it is equally essential that the peoples of the States should feel assured that their wants, their difficulties and their representations will receive the fullest attention and fullest sympathy'[3] These were undoubtedly very laudable sentiments but little was done by the Princes to translate them into practice

The active interest of the Congress in the affairs of Indian States after the Haripura session of February 1938 boosted the morale of States' people in their struggle for emancipation and on their mettle they girded up their loins and prepared themselves for all eventualities It was in pursuance of the Congress decision that All India States People's Conference was formed to work for the rectification of grievances of the peoples of the Indian States with Late Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya as President, and Balwant Rai Mehta and Jai Narain Vyas as General Secretaries Following the formation of this organisation, Praja Mandals were founded in States and a wave of awakening swept the slumbering States of India Eastern Rajputana States also witnessed a remarkable upsurge of popular movement against the princely administration Dholpur Rajya Praja Mandal was founded in 1936, Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal in 1938 and Bharatpur Rajya Praja Parishad in 1940 These organisations repeatedly demanded introduction of responsible government in their respective States amelioration of the conditions of the peasantry, grant of civil liberties and abolition of bonded labour The Rulers of Eastern Rajputana States on the other hand were not willing to part with their traditional autocratic rule by associating their subjects in the affairs of administration and transferring powers to them They banned people's organisations prohibited public meetings declared strikes unlawful, and arrested or deported the social workers from the States

Praja Mandals gained strength in States because the

Rulers had lost the quality of leadership and ignored the will and welfare of their people The inefficiency of native govern ments, their disorganised finances and arbitrary system of justice had undermined their authority completely They did not realise that power cannot be divorced from responsibility without disastrous consequences If this realisation had dawn ed on them and had they granted responsible government to the people and contended themselves with the position of titular headship with limited powers and prerogatives, the events might have taken a different shape It was only by an intelli gent realisation of the truths of history and by an active co operation of their subjects that the Rulers could have consi derably prolonged, if not perpetuated their existence in the very teeth of antagonistic forces But to Lord Mountbatten the Rulers were 'a bunch of nitwits for not democratising their administrations when they saw power of the Congress rising '[6] The words of Maharaja of Baroda were also prophetic in this connection 'In their (people) prosperity will be our stre ngth, in their contentment our security, in their gratitude our best reward [7] The Rulers unfortunately ignored this advise

It would be interesting to examine here the attitude of the Princes towards the Praja Mandal in their States Maharaja of Patiala in his address to the Patiala State Praja Mandal Workers in April 1939 said My ancestors have won the State by the sword and I mean to keep it by the sword I do not recognize any organisation to represent my people or to speak on their behalf I am their sole and only representative No organisation such as Praja Mandal can be allowed to exist within the State If you want to do Congress work get out of the State The Congress can terrify the British Government but if it ever tries to interfere in my State it will find me a ter rible resister I cannot tolerate any flag other than my own to be flown within my boundaries You stop your Praja Mandal activities otherwise I shall resort to such repre sion that your generations to come will not forget it When I see some of my dear subjects drifting away into another fold it touches the core

of my heart I advise you to get out of the Mandal and stop all kinds of agitation, or else, remember, I am a military man, my talk is blunt and bullet straight'[8] Maharaja of Jodhpur characterised the Lok Parishad agitation in his State 'as a groundless political agitation,' and warned that 'I am not prepared to allow an open campaign of subservise agitation manifestly designed to encourage our peasantry to revolt and corrupt our youth'[9] Thus, in brief, the Princes were deadly against the political organisations and the agitations in their States

The Rulers of Eastern Rajputana States who took inspiration from the major States readily followed the policy of Kicks and Kisses' They promulgated repressive laws e g, Alwar State Seditious Meetings Act, 1921, Alwar State Sedition Law, Alwar State Press (Emergency Powers) Act 1944 Karauli State Registration of Societies and Regulation of Meetings Act, 1940 and Dholpur Government Servant's Conduct Rules, 1941 All these Acts were designed to curb civil liberty and to let loose the policy of repression within the States There had been no dearth of petty tyrannies Citizens were made naked in order to force them to give up their allegiance to the Praja Mandal There were reports of policemen, swords in hand and pouncing upon meetings of the Praja Mandal, killing people and wounding many more, elsewhere emerged complaints of press reporters being assailed, their vehicles smashed and themselves beaten by the police However this could not dampen the courage of the people who were equally determined to struggle for their rights and liberty

The five years of struggle between Ludhiana session of All India States People's Conference (Feb 1939) and Udaipur (Dec. 1945) were years of incubation in which the forces of nationalism till then latent were fast becoming patent preparing themselves for the great destiny that was awaiting them[10] Political events like the Cripps Proposal Simla Conference, Cabinet Mission Plan and a number of other ancillary incidents

indicated that the country was swiftly heading towards independence The e developments created confusion in the princely camp and it was not easy for most of the States to survive the shock of Indian independence The last day attempts to offer civil rights of the days of the Magna Carta in England could not answer the call of the hour India was calling from every corner in the States The Indian Independence Act, 1947 released the States from all their obligations to the Crown and in consequence the States became sovereign entities Next few months witnessed hectic activities on the part of the Rulers the Congress Government and other political forces in India Some Princes aspired that when paramountcy ended, their independence would be restored to them But they little saw that the same independence that reverted to the Princes, reverted to their people as well The warning of Nehru that 'we will not recognise any independence for any State in India' left no room for the Rulers to clamour for sovereignty Though some Rulers remained hostile to accession for some time but ultimately yielded and before August 15 all the States except Hydrabad, Junagadh and Kashmir acceded to the Indian Dominion The accession of the States to the Dominion of India was a momentous event in India s history It established a new organic relationship between the States and the Government of India The constitutional link thus forged proved strong enough to bear the stress of the upheaval through which the country had to pass and enabled the Government of India and the governments of the States and the Provinces to take concerted and co ordinated action in relation to matters of common concern

The process of consolidation of States into sizeable administrative units and their democratisation rapidly followed the independence of India The small State had been the most vulnerable link in the chain of the Indian States The Rulers of smaller States were in no position to meet the demand for equating the position of their people with that of their countrymen in the Provinces These mall units did not have the

resources to stand up to popular agitation, nor could they afford the machinery for a self sufficient and democratic set up In some cases, the subversive elements did not hesitate to exploit the situation, for their own ends The situation, if allowed to continue would have imperilled peace and order not only in States but in the neighbouring Provinces as well With these objectives the States were integrated and the four Eastern Rajputana States, namely Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli were merged to form the Matsya Union on March 17 1948 But the Union was not a viable unit for it was 'too weak economically and otherwise to stand by itself On account of smallness of its size, administrative problems, inseparable link with neighbouring States inadequacy of resources to open up its economic potentialities backwardness of its people, absence of strong central leadership and its in capacity to shoulder a self contained administration, the Union was integrated with Greater Rajasthan on May 15, 1949

Thus for the first time was realised the age old dream of the united Rajasthan 'a dream which Rana Sanga envisaged in the form of a confederation of Rajput Princes in the 16th century, and for the attainment of which Rajputs have striven and fought all along It is to the credit of the Rulers of Rajputana States that at the critical stage of political evolution of the country, they threw their weight on the side of nationalism and welfare of the country When it came to the integration of their States they gave demonstration of their wisdom patriotism and sacrifice, which received warm acclamation at the hands of India's Iron Man the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel In this respect, the Rulers may well claim to be co architects in building a free and democratic India [11]

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APPENDIX I

INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION OF

Whereas the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provides that as from the fifteenth day of August, 1947, there shall be set up an independent Dominion known as India, and that the Government of India Act, 1935, shall, with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modification as the Governor General may by order specify be applicable to the Dominion of India,

And whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, as so adapted by the Governor-General provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof ,

Now therefore
Ruler of
in the exercise of my sovereignty in and over my said State do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and

1 I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Governcr General of India the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Dominion authority established for the purposes of the Dominion shall, by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession, but subject always to the terms thereof and for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of
(hereinafter referred to as ' this State) such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of India on the 15th day of August 1947 (which Act as so in force is hereinafter referred to as "the Act")

2 I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that due *effect is given to the provisions of* the Act within this State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession

3 I accept the matters specified in the Schedule hereto

as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for this State

4 I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the as urance that if an agreement is made between the Governor General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of this State, then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of this Instrument and shall be construed and have effect accordingly

5 The terms of this my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or of the Indian Independence Act, 1947 unless such amendment is accepted by me by an In trument supplementary to this Instrument

6 Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Domi nion Legislature to make any law for this State authorising the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I here by undertake that should the Dominion for the purposes of a Dominion law which applies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land I will at their request acquire the land at their expense or if the land belongs to me transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed, or, in default of agreement, determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Jus ice of India

7 Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to com mit me in any way to acceptance of any future constitution of India or to fetter my discretion to enter into arrangements with the Government of India under any such future constitution

8 Nothing in this Instrument affec s the continuance of my sovereignty in and over this State, or, save as provided by or under this Instrument the exercise of any powers, authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at pre ent in force in this State

9 I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that any reference in this Instrument

to me or to the Ruler of the State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors

Given under my hand this day of August, Nineteen hundred and forty seven

I do hereby accept this Instrument of Accession

Dated this day of August, Nineteen hundred and forty seven

(Governor General of India)

SCHEDULE

THE MATTERS WITH RESPECT TO WHICH THE DOMINION LEGISLATURE MAY MAKE LAWS FOR THIS STATE

A *Defence*

1 The naval, military and air forces of the Dominion and any other armed force raised or maintained by the Dominion any armed forces including forces raised or maintained by an Acceding State, which are attached to, or operating with, any of the armed forces of the Dominion

2 Naval, military and air force works, administration of cantonment areas

3 Arms, fire arms ammunition

4 Explosives

B *External Affairs*

1 External affairs, the implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries extradition including the surrender of criminals and accused persons to parts of His Majesty's dominions outside India

2 Admission into, and emigration and expulsion from, India, including in relation thereto the regulation of the

movements in India of persons who are not British subjects domiciled in India or subjects of any acceding State, pilgrimages to places beyond India

3 Naturalisation

C *Communications*

1 Posts and telegraphs, including telephones, wireless, broadcasting and other like forms of communication

2 Federal railways , the regulation of all railways other than minor railways in respect of safety, maximum and minimum rates and fares, station and service terminal charges, interchange of traffic and the responsibility of railway administrations as carriers of goods and passengers, the regulation of minor railways in respect of safety and the responsibility of the administrations of such railways as carriers of goods and passengers

3 Maritime shipping and navigation including shipping and navigation on tidal waters Admiralty jurisdiction

4 Port quarantine

5 Major ports that is to say, the declaration and delimitation of such ports, and the constitution and powers of port authorities therein

6 Aircraft and air navigation the provision of aerodromes regulation and organisation of air traffic and of aerodromes

7 Lighthouses including lightships beacons and other provisions for the safety of shipping and aircraft

8 Carriage of passengers and goods by sea or by air

9 Extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of the police force belonging to any unit to railway area outside that unit

D *Ancillary*

1 Elections to the Dominion Legislature, ubject to the provisions of the Act and of any order made thereunder

2 Offences against laws with respect to any of the aforesaid matters

3 Inquiries and statistics for the purposes of any of the aforesaid matters

4 Jurisdiction and powers of all courts with respect to any of the aforesaid matters but, except with the consent of the Ruler of the Acceding State, not so as to confer any jurisdiction or powers upon any courts other than courts ordinarily exercising jurisdiction in or in relation to that State

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AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE STATE OF AND THE DOMINION OF INDIA

Whereas it is to the benefit and advantage of the Dominion of India as well as of the Indian States that existing agreements and administrative arrangements in the matters of common concern, should continue for the time being between the Dominion of India or any part thereof and the Indian States

Now therefore it is agreed between the State and the Dominion of India that —

1 (1) Until new agreements in this behalf are made, all agreements and administrative arrangements as to matters of common concern now existing between the Crown and any Indian State shall, in so far as may be appropriate continue as between the Dominion of India or, as the case may be, the part thereof, and the State

(2) In particular, and without derogation from the generality of sub clause (1) of this clause the matters referred to above shall include the matters specified in the Schedule to this Agreement

2 Any dispute arising out of this Agreement, or out of the agreements or arrangements hereby continued, shall, unless

any provision is made therein for arbitration by an authority other than the Governor General or Governor, be settled by arbitration according, as far as may be, to the procedure of the Indian Arbitration Act, 1899

3 Nothing in this Agreement includes the exercise of any paramountcy functions

Sta e

Secretary to the Go ernment of India

SCHFDULE

1 Air Communications
2 Arms and equipment
3 Control of commodities
4 Currency of coinage
5 Customs
6 Indian States Forces
7 External Affairs
8 Extradition
9 Import and Export Control
10 Irrigation and Electric Power
11 Motor vehicles
12 National Highways
13 Opium
14 Posts Telegraphs and Telephones
15 Railways (including police and other arrangements in Railway lands)
16 Salt
17 Central Excises, relief from double income tax and other arrangements relating to taxation
18 Wireless

APPENDIX II

THE COVENANT

entered into by the Rulers of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli for the formation of THE UNITED STATE OF MATSYA

We the Rulers of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli:

Being convinced that the welfare of our people can best be secured by the integration of the territories of our four States in one State with a common Executive, Legislature and Judiciary,

And having resolved to entrust to a Constituent Assembly consisting of elected representatives of the people drawing up of a democratic Constitution for that State within the framework of the Constitution of India to which we have already acceded, and of this Covenant

Do hereby with the concurrence and guarantee of the Government of India, enter into the following Covenant —

ARTICLE I

In this Covenant—

(a) 'Covenanting State' means any of the said four States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli, and

(b) unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context, references to the Ruler of a State, include any person or persons for the time being exercising the powers of the Ruler, whether by reason of his minority or for any other reason

ARTICLE II

(1) The Covenanting States agree to unite and integrate their territories in one State with a common Executive, Legislature and Judiciary, by the name of 'The United State of Matsya '

(2) The said State is hereafter in this Covenant referred to as 'the United State

ARTICLE III

(1) There shall be a Council of Rulers consisting of the Rulers of all the Covenanting States :

Provided that no Ruler who is less than 21 years of age shall be a member of the Council

(2) The Council shall elect at a meeting one of its members to be the President, and another to be the Vice President of the Council, and the President so elected shall be the RAJ PRAMUKH of the United State

(3) For the purposes of the elections referred to in paragraph (2), the Rulers of Alwar, Bharatpur Dholpur and Karauli, shall have 6 votes 4 votes, 2 votes and 1 vote respectively

(4) A Ruler elected as the President or Vice President of the Council shall be entitled to hold office as such President or Vice President for a term of five years from the date on which he enters on the duties of that office

Notwithstanding anything contained in the preceding paragraphs of this Article—

(a) The present Rulers of Dholpur and Alwar having been elected President and Vice President respectively, of the Council by the Rulers of all the Covenanting States on the 27th February 1948 shall be the first President and Vice President respectively of the Council of Rulers and

(b) The said President and Vice President shall, for the purposes of paragraph (4) of this Article be deemed to have entered upon the duties of their respective offices on the 1948

ARTICLE IV

(1) There shall be paid to the Raj Pramukh from the revenues of the United State a sum of rupees per year as consolidated allowance in order that he may be enabled to discharge conveniently and with dignity the duties of his office

(2) If the Raj Pramukh is by reason of absence or illness or for any other reason unable to perform the duties of his office those duties shall until he has resumed them be performed by the Vice President of the Council of Rulers

ARTICLE V

(1) There shall be a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the Raj Pramukh in the exercise of his functions except those under paragraph (2) of Article VII

(2) The Ministers shall be chosen by and shall hold office during the pleasure of the Raj Pramukh

ARTICLE VI

(1) The Ruler of each Covenanting State shall, as oon as may be praticable, and in any event not later than the 15th March 1948 make over the administration of his State to the Raj Pramukh and thereupon—

(a) all rights authority and jurisdiction belonging to the Ruler which appertain or are incidental to the government of the Covenanting State shall vest in the United State and shall hereafter be exercisable only as provided by this Covenant or by the Constitution to be framed thereunder,

(b) all duties and obligations of the Ruler pertaining or incidental to the government of the Covenanting State shall devolve on the United State and shall be discharged by it, and

(c) all the assets and liabilities of the Covenanting State shall be the assets and liabilities of the United State

ARTICLE VII

(1) The Military Forces, if any of each Covenanting State shall, as from the date on which the administration of such State is made over to the Raj Pramukh become the military forces of the United State

(2) Subject to any directions or instructions that may from time to time be given by the Government of India in this behalf, the authority to raise, maintain and administer the military forces of the United State shall vest exclusively in the Raj Pramukh

Provided that nothing in this Article shall be deemed to prevent the Raj Pramukh from consulting the Council of Ministers in regard to any of the said matters

ARTICLE VIII

Subject to the provisions of this Covenant and of the Constitution to be framed thereunder, the executive authority of the United State shall be exercised by the Raj Pramukh either directly or through officers subordinate to him, but nothing in this Article shall prevent any competent Legislature of the United State from conferring functions upon subordinate authorities or be deemed to transfer to the Raj Pramukh any functions conferred by any existing law on any court, judge, officer or local authority in a Covenanting State

ARTICLE IX

(1) There shall be formed, as soon as may be practicable, a Constituent Assembly in the manner indicated in Schedule II

(2) It shall be the duty of the said Assembly to frame a Constitution for the United State within the framework of this Covenant and the Constitution of India, and providing for a government responsible to the legislature

(3) Until a Constitution so framed comes into operation after receiving the assent of the Raj Pramukh the legislative authority of the United State shall vest in the Raj Pramukh, who may make and promulgate ordinances for the peace and good government of the United State or any part thereof and any ordinance so made shall have the like force of law as an Act passed by the legislature of the United State

ARTICLE X

(1) The Ruler of each Covenanting State shall be entitled to receive annually from the revenues of the United State for his privy purse the amount specified against that Covenanting State in Schedule I

(2) The said amount is intended to cover all the expenses of the Ruler and his family including expenses of his residence marriages and other ceremonies etc and shall neither be increased nor reduced for any reason whatsoever

(3) The Raj Pramukh shall cause the said amount to be paid to the Ruler in four equal instalments at the beginning of each quarter in advance

(4) The said amount shall be free of all taxes, whether imposed by the Government of the United State or by the Government of India

ARTICLE XI

(1) The Ruler of each Covenanting State shall be entitled to the full ownership, use and enjoyment of all properties (as distinct from State properties) belonging to him on the date of his making over the administration of that State to the Raj Pramukh

(2) He shall furnish to the Raj Pramukh before the 1st May 1948 an inventory of all the immovable properties, securities and cash balances held by him as such private property

(3) If any dispute arises as to whether any item of property is the private property of the Ruler or State property, it shall be referred to such person as the Government of India may nominate, and the decision of that person shall be final and binding on all parties concerned

ARTICLE XII

The Ruler of each Covenanting State, as also the members of his family, shall be entitled to all the personal privileges, dignities and titles enjoyed by them whether within or outside the territories of the State, immediately before the 15th day of August, 1947

ARTICLE XIII

(1) The succession, according to law and custom, to the gaddi of each Covenanting State and to the personal rights privileges dignities and titles of the Ruler thereof is hereby guaranteed

(2) Every question of disputed succession in regard to a Covenanting State shall be decided by the Council of Rulers

after referring it to the High Court of the United State and in accordance with the opinion given by that High Court

Article XIV

No enquiry shall be made by or under the authority of the United State, and no proceedings shall lie in any court in the United State, against the Ruler of any Covenanting State, whether in a personal capacity or otherwise, in respect of any thing done or omitted to be done by him under his authority during the period of his administration of that Covenanting State

Article XV

(1) The United State hereby guarantees either the continuance in service of the permanent members of the public services of each of the Covenanting States on conditions which will be not less advantageous than those on which they were serving on the 1st February 1948 or the payment of reasonable compensation

(2) The United State further guarantees the continuance of pensions and leave salaries sanctioned by competent authorities in any of the Covenanting States to members of the public services of that State who have retired or proceeded on leave preparatory to retirement, before the date referred to in paragraph (1) of this Article

Article XVI

Except with the previous sanction of the Raj Pramukh, no proceedings, civil or criminal shall be instituted against any person in respect of any act done or purporting to be done in the execution of his duty as a servant of any Covenanting State before the date on which the administration thereof is made over to the Raj Pramukh

SCHEDULE I

Covenanting States and Privy Purse amounts

1 Alwar
2 Bharatpur
3 Dholpur
4 Karauli

SCHEDULE II

Provisions relating to the Matsya Constituent Assembly

1 The Assembly shall consist of not more than twenty elected representatives of the people of the United State on the basis of one representative for approximately one lakh of the population, and not more than three other persons nominated by the Raj Pramukh to represent special interests

2 The United State shall be divided into territorial con stituencies, and the total number of seats shall be distributed among them by assigning to each constituency one or two seats as may be convenient

3 The qualifications for membership of the A sembly and for being included in the electoral rolls shall be similar to those prescribed in relation to the Provincial Legislative Assem bly of the United Provinces subject to necessary modifications

4 An order shall in due course be made and proclaimed by the Raj Pramukh providing consistently with the foregoing provisions of this Schedule, for—

(a) the delimitation of constituencies

(b) the preparation of electoral rolls,

(c) the qualifications for membership of the Assembly,

(d) the qualifications entitling persons to vote in the elections

(e) conduct of elections, including bye elections for the filling of casual vacancies

(f) corrupt practices at or in connection with such elections and

(g) the decision of doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with such elections

In confirmation of the above Covenant we append our signa tures, on behalf of ourselves our heirs and succes ors

(Sd) Rulers of the Covenanting States

The Government of India hereby concur in the above Covenant and guarantee all its provisions In confirmation whereof Mr Vapal Pangunni Menon, Secretary to the Government of India in the Ministry of States, appends his signature on behalf and with the authority of the Government of India.

(Sd) V P Menon
Secretary to the Govt of India, Ministry of States
28th February, 1948

APPENDIX III

AGREEMENT made this tenth day of May 1949, between the Raj Pramukh of the United State of Rajasthan and the Rulers of Alwar, Bharatpur Dholpur and Karauli

WHEREAS ArticleI I of the Covenant entered into by the Rulers of Banswara Bikaner, Bundi Dungarpur Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Jhalawar, Jodhpur Kishangarh Kotah, Mewar Partabgarh, Shahpura and Tonk for the reconstitution of the United State of Rajasthan provides for the inclusion in the United State so established of any other State the Ruler of which enters into an agreement with the Raj Pramukh and with the approval of the Government of India for the integration of that State with the United State of Rajasthan

The Raj Pramukh of the United State of Rajasthan, the Rulers of Alwar Bharatpur and Karauli and the Ruler of Dholpur acting in his capacity as such Ruler and in his capacity as the Raj Pramukh of the United State of Matsya with the approval and concurrence of the Government of India do hereby agree as follows —

Article I

In this Agreement, unless there is anything repugnant in the context—

(a) 'Covenant means the Covenant referred to in the preamble to this Agreement,

(b) 'Matsya States' means the States which on the date of this Agreement comprise the United State of Matsya, namely, the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli,

(c) 'Matsya' means the United State of Matsya and

(d) 'Rajasthan' means the United State of Rajasthan

ARTICLE II

As from mid day of the 15th day of May, 1949—

(a) the United State of Matsya shall be integrated with and become part of the United State of Rajasthan, and

(b) the Covenant entered into by the Rulers of Matsya States for the formation of Matsya shall stand abrogated

ARTICLE III

On the said day the administration of Matsya as a whole and of each of the Matsya States shall be handed over by the Raj Pramukh of Matsya to the Raj Pramukh of Rajasthan

ARTICLE IV

With effect from mid day of the 15th May, 1949 the following additions and alterations shall be deemed to have been made in the Covenant, namely —

(i) for clause (a) of Art I the following clauses shall be substituted —

(a) Covenanting State means any of the eighteen States of Alwar, Banswara Bharatpur Bikaner, Bundi, Dholpur Dungarpur Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Jhalawar, Jodhpur Karauli Kishangarh Kotah, Mewar, Pratabgarh, Shahpura and Tonk

(aa) former Matsya State means the United State of Matsya established by Covenant dated the 28th February, 1948, entered into by the Rulers of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli

(ii) in paragraph (1) of Article VII after the words 'former Rajasthan State' the words of the former Matsya State shall be inserted

(iii) in Article IX after the words former Rajasthan State the words 'or in the former Matsya State shall be inserted ,

(iv) in paragraph (1) of Article XVI, after the words 'former Rajasthan State' the words of the former Matsya State' shall be inserted,

(v) in paragraph (3) of Article XVI, after the words 'establishing that State' the words 'and the guarantees given by the former Matsya State in paragraphs (1) and (2) of Article XV of the Covenant establishing that State' shall be inserted,

(vi) to Schedule I, the following enteries shall be added

"15	Alwar	Rs 5 20 000
16	Bharatpur	Rs 5 02 000
17	Dholpur	Rs 2,64 000
18	Karauli	Rs 1,05,000

ARTICLE V

Notwithstanding anything contained in this Agreement or in the Covenant the Government of India, may when they are satisfied that conditions favourable to the expression of a considered opinion by the general public have been established in the territorial units formerly known as the States of Bharat pur and Dholpur, cause to be taken such measures as they may deem necessary to ascertain whether public opinion in each of the said units is in favour of remaining within Rajasthan or is in favour of merging with the United Provinces and if the public opinion in either of the said units is in favour of the latter alternative take such further measures as may be neces sary for effecting the separation of that unit from Rajasthan and its merger in the United Provinces

Provided that such merger shall not in any way effect the amount of privy purse and the other rights and privileges guaranteed to the Ruler concerned by the Covenant and this Agreement

ARTICLE VI

For the avoidance of doubt it is hereby agreed and decla red that with effect from mid day of the 15th May, 1949, the Instrument of Accession executed by the Raj Pramukh of

Rajasthan on the fifteenth day of April 1949 will in all respects extend and apply to the territories of Matsya States to be incorporated in Rajasthan and the Instrument of Accession executed by the Raj Pramukh of Matsya on the seventh day of October, 1948, will be treated as cancelled

In confirmation whereof we append our signatures on behalf of ourselves, our heirs and successors

1 Maharaja of Alwar
2 Maharaja of Bharatpur
3 Maharaj Rana of Dholpur and Raj Pramukh of the United State of Matsya
4 Maharaja of Karauli
5 Raj Pramukh of the United State of Rajasthan

The Government of India hereby approve and concur in the above Agreement and guarantee all its provisions

In confirmation whereof Mullath Kadingi Vellodi, Secretary to the Government of India in the Ministry of States appends his signature on behalf and with the authority of the Government of India

M K VELLODI
Secretary to the Government of India

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